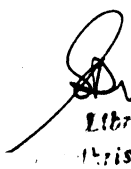
The Fifth century
vol. — 2



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THE

FIFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the Church.

The state of the Roman empire.

1. In order to arrive at a true knowledge of the causes to which we are to attribute the outward state of the church, and the events which happened to it during this century, we must keep in view the civil history of this period of time. It is, therefore, proper to observe, that, in the beginning of this century, the Roman empire was divided into two distinct sovereignties; of which the one comprehended the eastern provinces, the other those of the west. Arcadius, the emperor of the east, reigned at Constantinople; and Honorius, who governed the western provinces, chose Ravenna for the place of his residence. This latter prince, remarkable only for the sweetness of his temper, and the goodness of his heart, neglected the great affairs of the empire; and, inattentive to the weighty duties of his station, held the reins of government with an unsteady hand. The Goths took advantage of this criminal indolence; made

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incursions into Italy; laid waste its fairest provinces; and sometimes carried their desolations as far as Rome, which they ravaged and plundered in the most dreadful manner. These calamities, which fell upon the western part of the empire from the Gothic deprodations, were followed by others still more dreadful under the succeeding emperors. A fierce and warlike people, issuing out of Germany, overspread Italy, Gaul, and Spain, the noblest of all the European provinces, and erected new kingdoms in those fertile countries; and Odoacer, at last, at the head of the Heruli, having conquered Augustulus, in the year 476, gave the mortal blow to the western empire, and reduced all Italy under his dominion. About sixteen years after this, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, made war upon these barbarian invaders, at the request of Zeno, emperor of the east, conquered Odoacer in several battles, and obtained, as the fruits of his victories, a kingdom for the Ostrogoths in Italy, which subsisted under various turns of fortune from the year 493 to 552 [a].

These new monarchs of the west pretended to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperors who resided at Constantinople, and gave some faint external marks of a disposition to reign in subordination to them; but, in reality, they ruled with an absolute independence, in their respective governments, and, as appears particularly by the dominion exercised by Theodoric in Italy, left nothing remaining to the eastern emperors but a mere shadow of power and authority [b].

[a] See, for a fuller illustration of this branch of history, the learned work of De Bos, intitled, Histoire Critique de la Monarchie Francoise, tom. i. p. 258, as also Mascow's History of the Germans.

[b] Car. du Fresne, Dissert. xxiii. ad Histor. Ludovici S. p. 280. Muratorii Antiq. Ital. tom. ii. p. 578. 832.

II. These constant wars, and the inexpressible calamities with which they were attended, were undoubtedly detrimental to the cause and progress of Christianity. It must, however, be acknowledged that the Christian emperors, especially those who ruled in the east, were active and assiduous in extirpating the remains of the ancient superstitions. Theodosius the younger distinguished himself in this pious and noble work, and many remarkable monuments of his zeal in this matter are still preserved [c]; such as the laws which enjoined either the destruction of the heathen temples, or the dedication of them to Christ and his saints; the edicts, by which he abrogated the sacrilegious rites and ceremonies of paganism, and removed from all offices and employments in the state such as persevered in their attachment to the absurdities of Polytheism. The farther decline of idolatry.

This spirit of reformation appeared with less vigour in the western empire. There the feasts of Saturn and Pan, the combats of the gladiators, and other rites that were instituted in honour of the pagan deities, were celebrated with the utmost freedom and impunity; and persons of the highest rank and authority professed publicly the religion of their idolatrous ancestors [d]. This liberty was, however, from time to time,

Giannone, Histoire de Naples, tom. i. p. 207. Jo. Cochlæi Vita Theodorici Ostrogothorum regis, printed in 4to in the year 1699, with the observations and remarks of Peringskiold.

[c] See the Theodosian Code, tom. vi. p. 327.

[d] See the Saturnalia of Macrobius, lib. i. p. 190. edit. Gronov. Scipio Maffei delli Anfiteatri, lib. i. p. 56, 57. Pierre le Brun, Hist. Critique des Pratiques Superstitieuses, tom. i. p. 237. and above all, Montfaucon, Diss. de Moribus tempore Theodosii M. et Arcadii, which is to be found in Latin, in the eleventh volume of the works of St. Chrysostom, and in French, in the twentieth volume of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, p. 197.

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reduced within narrower limits; and all those public sports and festivals, that were more peculiarly incompatible with the genius and sanctity of the Christian religion, were everywhere abolished [e].

Nations converted to Christianity.

III. The limits of the church continued to extend themselves, and gained ground daily upon the idolatrous nations, both in the eastern and western empires. In the east, the inhabitants of mount Libanus and Antilibanus being dreadfully infested with wild beasts, implored the assistance and counsels of the famous Simeon the Stylite, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Simeon gave them for answer, that the only effectual method of removing this calamity was, to abandon the superstitious worship of their ancestors, and substitute the Christian religion in its place. The docility of this people, joined to the extremities to which they were reduced, engaged them to follow the counsels of this holy man. They embraced Christianity, and in consequence of their conversion, they had the pleasure of seeing their savage enemies abandon their habitations: if we may believe the writers who affirm the truth of this prodigy. The same Simeon, by his influence and authority, introduced the Christian worship into a certain district of the Arabians: some allege, that this also was effected by a miracle, which to me appears somewhat more than doubtful [f]. To these instances of the progress of the gospel, we may add the conversion of a considerable number of Jews in the isle of Crete; who finding themselves grossly deluded by the impious pretensions of an impostor, called

[e] Anastasius prohibited, towards the conclusion of this century, the combats with the wild beasts, and other shows. Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. tom. i. p. 246.

[f] Assemanni Bibl. Orient. Vat. tom. i. p. 246.

Moses Cretensis [*g*], who gave himself out for the Messiah, opened their eyes upon the truth, and embraced the Christian religion of their own accord [*h*].

The conversion of the German nations to Christianity.

IV. The German nations, who rent in pieces the Roman empire in the west, were not all converted to Christianity at the same time. Some of them had embraced the truth before the time of their incursion; and such, among others, was the case of the Goths. Others, after having erected their little kingdoms in the empire, embraced the gospel, that they might thus live with more security amidst a people, who, in general, professed the Christian religion. It is, however, uncertain (and likely to continue so) at what time and by whose ministry the Vandals, Sueves, and Alans were converted to Christianity. With respect to the Burgundians, who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, and who passed from thence into Gaul, we are informed by Socrates [*i*], that they embraced the gospel of their own accord, from a notion that Christ, or the god of the Romans, who had been represented to them as a most powerful being, would defend them against

☞ [*g*] We shall give the relation of Socrates, concerning this impostor, in the words of the learned and estimable author of the Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. "In the time of Theodosius the younger, an impostor arose, called Moses Cretensis. He pretended to be a second Moses, sent to deliver the Jews who dwelt in Crete, and promised to divide the sea, and give them a safe passage through it. They assembled together, with their wives and children, and followed him to a promontory. He there commanded them to cast themselves into the sea. Many of them obeyed, and perished in the waters, and many were taken up and saved by fishermen. Upon this, the deluded Jews would have torn the impostor to pieces, but he escaped them and was seen no more." See Jortin's Remarks, &c. first edition, vol. iii. p. 331.

[*h*] Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. xxxviii. p. 383.

[*i*] Idem. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. xxx. p. 371.

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the rapines and incursions of the Huns. They afterwards sided with the Arian party, to which also the Vandals, Sueves, and Goths were zealously attached. All these fierce and warlike nations judged a religion excellent, in proportion to the success which crowned the arms of those that professed it, and esteemed, consequently, that doctrine the best, whose professors had gained the greatest number of victories. When therefore they saw the Romans possessed of an empire much more extensive than that of any other people, they concluded that Christ their God, was of all others the most worthy of religious homage.

Of the Franks.

V. It was the same principle and the same views that engaged Clovis [*k*] king of the Salii, a nation of the Franks, to embrace Christianity. This prince, whose signal valour was accompanied with barbarity, arrogance, and injustice, founded the kingdom of the Franks, in Gaul, after having made himself master of a great part of that country, and meditated with a singular eagerness and avidity the conquest of the whole. His conversion to the Christian religion is dated from the battle he fought with the Allemans, in the year 496, at a village called Tolbiacum [*l*]; in which when the Franks began to give ground, and their affairs seemed desperate, he implored the assistance of Christ (whom his queen Clothildis, daughter of the king of the Burgundians, had often represented to him, in vain, as the Son of the true God), and solemnly engaged himself, by a vow, to worship him as his God, if he rendered him victorious over his enemies. Victory decided in

[*k*] Besides the name of Clovis, this prince was also called Clodovæus, Hludovicus, Ludovicus, and Ludicin.

☞ [*l*] Tolbiacum is thought to be the present Zulpick, which is about twelve miles from Cologne.

favour of the Franks: and Clovis, faithful to his engagement, received baptism at Rheims [*m*], towards the conclusion of that same year, after having been instructed by Remigius, bishop of that city, in the doctrines of the gospel [*n*]. The example of the king had such a powerful effect upon the minds of his subjects, that three thousand of them immediately followed it, and were baptized with him. Many are of opinion, that the desire of extending his dominions was that which contributed principally to render Clovis faithful to his engagement; though some influence may also be allowed to the zeal and exhortations of his queen Clothildis. Be that as it will, nothing is more certain than that his profession of Christianity was, in effect, of great use to him, both in confirming and enlarging his empire.

The miracles, which are said to have been wrought at the baptism of Clovis, are utterly unworthy of the smallest degree of credit. Among others the principal prodigy, that of the phial full of oil said to be brought from heaven by a milk white dove, during the ceremony of baptism, is a fiction, or rather, perhaps, an imposture; a pretended miracle contrived by artifice and fraud [*o*]. Pious frauds of this nature were very commonly practised in Gaul and in Spain

☞ [*m*] See Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, lib. ii. cap. xxx. xxxi. Henry count Bunau's Historia Imperii Romano-Germanici, tom. i. p. 588. De Bos' Histoire Critique de la Monarchie Francoise, tom. ii. p. 340.

☞ [*n*] The epitomiser of the history of the Franks tells us, that Remigius having preached to Clovis, and those who had been baptized with him, a sermon on the passion of our Saviour; the king, in hearing him, could not forbear crying out, "If I had been there with my Franks, that should not have happened."

[*o*]. The truth of this miracle has been denied by the learned John James Chiflet, in his book De Ampulla Rhe-

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at this time, in order to captivate, with more facility, the minds of a rude and barbarous people, who were scarcely susceptible of a rational conviction.

The conversion of Clovis is looked upon by the learned as the origin of the titles of Most Christian King, and Eldest Son of the Church, which have been so long attributed to the kings of France [*p*]. For, if we except this prince, all the kings of those barbarous nations, who seized upon the Roman provinces, were either yet involved in the darkness of paganism, or infected with the Arian heresy.

Of the Irish.

VI. Celestine, the Roman pontiff, sent Palladius into Ireland, to propagate the Christian re-

mensi, printed in folio at Antwerp, in the year 1651; and it has been affirmed by Vertot, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p. 350. After a mature consideration of what has been alleged on both sides of the question, I can scarcely venture to deny the fact: I am therefore of opinion, that in order to confirm and fix the wavering faith of this barbarian prince, Remigius had prepared his measures beforehand, and trained a pigeon, by vast application and dexterity, in such a manner, that, during the baptism of Clovis, it descended from the roof of the church with a phial full of oil. Among the records of this century, we find accounts of many such miracles. ☞ There is one circumstance, which obliges me to differ from Dr. Mosheim upon this point, and to look upon the story of the famous phial rather as a mere fiction, than as a pious fraud, or pretended miracle brought about by artifice; and that circumstance is, that Gregory of Tours, from whom we have a full account of the conversion and baptism of Clovis, and who from his proximity to this time may almost be called a contemporary writer, has not made the least mention of this famous miracle. This omission, in a writer whom the Roman Catholics themselves consider as an over-credulous historian, amounts to a proof, that, in his time, this fable was not yet invented.

[*p*] See Gab. Daniel et De Camps, Dissert. de Titulo Regis Christianissimi, Journal des Sçavans, for the year 1720. p. 243. 336. 404. 448. Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 466.

ligion among the rude inhabitants of that island. This first mission [q] was not attended with much fruits; nor did the success of Palladius bear any proportion to his laborious and pious endeavours. After his death, the same pontiff employed in this mission, Succathus, a native of Scotland, whose name he changed into that of Patrick, and who arrived among the Irish in the year 432. The success of his ministry, and the number and importance of his pious exploits, stand upon record as undoubted proofs, not only of his resolution and patience, but also of his dexterity and address. Having attacked, with much more success than his predecessor, the errors and superstitions of that uncivilized people, and brought great numbers of them over to the Christian religion, he founded, in the year 472, the archbishoprick of Armagh [r], which has ever since remained the metropolitan see of the Irish nation. Hence this famous missionary, though not the first who brought among that people the light of the gospel, has yet been justly entitled, The apostle of the Irish, and the father of the Hiber-

☞ [q] From the fragments of the lives of some Irish bishops, who are said to have converted many of their countrymen in the fourth century, Archbishop Usher concludes, that Palladius was not the first bishop of Ireland, (see his Antiquities of the British Church.) But it has been evidently proved, among others by Bollandus, that these fragments are of no earlier date than the twelfth century, and are, besides, the most of them fabulous. Dr. Mosheim's opinion is further confirmed by the authority of Prosper, which is decisive in this matter.

[r] See the Acta Sanctor. tom. ii. Martii, p. 517. tom. iii. Februar. p. 131. 179. Jac. Warœi Hibernia Sacra, printed in folio at Dublin, 1717. This latter published at London, in 1656, in 8vo. the Works of St. Patrick. The synods, that were held by this eminent missionary, are to be found in Wilkins's Concilia Magnæ Brit. et Hiberniæ, tom. i. p. 2. With respect to the famous cave, which is called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, the reader may consult Le Brun, Histoire Critique des Pratiques superstitieuses, tom. iv. p. 34.

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nian church; and is still generally acknowledged and revered in that honourable character.

The causes of these conversions.

VII. The causes and circumstances by which these different nations were engaged to abandon the superstition of their ancestors, and to embrace the religion of Jesus, may be easily deduced from the facts we have related in the history of their conversion. It would, indeed, be an instance of the blindest and most perverse partiality, not to acknowledge, that the labours and zeal of great and eminent men contributed to this happy purpose, and were the means by which the darkness of many was turned into light. But, on the other hand, they must be very inattentive and superficial observers of things, who do not perceive that the fear of punishment, the prospect of honours and advantages, and the desire of obtaining succour against their enemies from the countenance of the Christians, or the miraculous influences of their religion, were the prevailing motives that induced the greatest part to renounce the service of their impotent gods.

How far these conversions were due to real miracles attending the ministry of these early preachers, is a matter extremely difficult to be determined. For though I am persuaded that those pious men, who, in the midst of many dangers, and in the face of obstacles seemingly invincible, endeavoured to spread the light of Christianity through the barbarous nations, were sometimes accompanied with the more peculiar presence and succours of the Most High [*s*]; yet I am equally convinced, that the greatest part of

[*s*] There is a remarkable passage, relating to the miracles of this century, in Æneas Gazeus's Dialogue concerning the Immortality of the Soul, &c. intitled, Theophrastus, p. 78. 80, 81. edit. Barthii. See the controversy concerning the time when miracles ceased in the church, that was carried on some years ago, on occasion of Dr. Middleton's Free Inquiry, &c.

the prodigies, recorded in the histories of this age, are liable to the strongest suspicions of falsehood or imposture. The simplicity and ignorance of the generality in those times furnished the most favourable occasion for the exercise of fraud; and the impudence of impostors, in contriving false miracles, was artfully proportioned to the credulity of the vulgar [*t*]; while the sagacious and the wise, who perceived these cheats, were obliged to silence by the dangers that threatened their lives and fortunes, if they detected the artifice [*u*]. Thus does it generally happen in human life, that, when the discovery and profession of the truth is attended with danger, the prudent are silent, the multitude believe, and impostors triumph.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the calamitous Events which happened to the Church during this Century.

The Christians suffer in the Roman empire.

I. It has been already observed, that the Goths, the Heruli, the Franks, the Huns, and the Vandals, with other fierce and warlike nations, for the most part strangers to Christianity, had invaded the Roman empire, and rent it asunder in the most deplorable manner. Amidst these calamities, the Christians were grievous, nay, we may venture to say, the principal sufferers. It is true, these savage nations were much more intent upon the acquisition of wealth and dominion,

[*t*] This is ingeniously confessed by the Benedictine monks, Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 33. and happily expressed by Livy, Hist. lib. xxiv. cap. x. sect. 6. *Prodigia multa nuntiata sunt, quæ quo magis credebant simplices et religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur.*

[*u*] Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i. p. 438. Ep. i. p. 457. Dial. iii. cap. ii. p. 487.

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than upon the propagation or support of the pagan superstitions; nor did their cruelty and opposition to the Christians arise from any religious principle, or from an enthusiastic desire to ruin the cause of Christianity; it was merely by the instigation of the pagans who remained yet in the empire, that they were excited to treat with such severity and violence the followers of Christ. The painful consideration of their abrogated rites, and the hopes of recovering their former liberty and privileges by the means of their new masters, induced the worshippers of the gods to seize with avidity every opportunity of inspiring them with the most bitter aversion to the Christians. Their endeavours, however, were without the desired effect, and their expectations were entirely disappointed. The greatest part of these barbarians embraced Christianity; though it be also true, that, in the beginning of their usurpations, the professors of that religion suffered heavily under the rigour of their government.

The attempts of the pagans to destroy their credit.

II. To destroy the credit of the gospel, and to excite the hatred of the multitude against the Christians, the pagans took occasion, from the calamities and tumults which distracted the empire, to renew the obsolete complaint of their ancestors against Christianity, as the source of these complicated woes. They alleged, that before the coming of Christ, the world was blessed with peace and prosperity; but that, since the progress of his religion every where, the gods, filled with indignation to see their worship neglected, and their altars abandoned, had visited the earth with those plagues and desolations, which increased every day. This feeble objection was entirely removed by Augustin, in his book, Concerning the City of God; a work extremely rich and ample in point of matter, and filled with the most profound and diversified erudition. It also drew

a complete confutation from the learned pen of Orosius, who, in a history written expressly for that purpose, showed, with the utmost evidence, that not only the same calamities now complained of, but also plagues of a much more dreadful kind, had afflicted mankind before the Christian religion appeared in the world.

The calamities of the times produced still more pernicious effects upon the religious sentiments of the Gauls. They introduced among that people the most desperate notions, and led many of them to reject the belief of a superintending providence, and to exclude the Deity from the government of the universe. Against these frenetic infidels, Salvian wrote his book Concerning the divine Government.

The persecutions they suffered.

III. Hitherto we have given only a general view of the sufferings of the Christians; it is, however, proper, that we enter into a more distinct and particular account of that matter.

In Gaul, and the neighbouring provinces, the Goths and Vandals, (whose cruel and sacrilegious soldiery respected neither the majesty of religion nor the rights of humanity,) committed acts of barbarity and violence against a multitude of Christians.

In Britain, a long series of tumults and divisions involved the Christians in many troubles. When the affairs of the Romans declined in that country, the Britons were tormented by the Picts and Scots, nations remarkable for their violence and ferocity. Hence, after many sufferings and disasters, they chose in the year 445, Vortigern for their king. This prince, finding himself too weak to make head against the enemies of his country, called the Anglo-Saxons from Germany to his aid, in the year 449. The consequences of this measure were pernicious; and it soon appeared, that this people, who came as auxi-

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liaries into Britain, oppressed it with calamities more grievous than those which it had suffered from its enemies. For the Saxons aimed at nothing less than to subdue the ancient inhabitants of the country, and to reduce the whole island under their dominion. Hence a most bloody and obstinate war arose between the Britons and Saxons, which, after having been carried on, during the space of a hundred and thirty years, with various success, ended in the defeat of the Britons, who were forced to yield to the Anglo-Saxons, and to seek a retreat in Batavia and Cambria. During these commotions, the state of the British church was deplorable beyond expression; it was almost totally overwhelmed and extinguished by the Anglo-Saxons, who adhered to the worship of the gods, and put an immense number of Christians to the most cruel deaths [*w*].

In Persia.

IV. In Persia, the Christians suffered grievously by the imprudent zeal of Abdas, bishop of Suza, who pulled down the Pyræum, which was a temple dedicated to fire. For when this obstinate prelate was ordered by the king (Isdegerdes) to rebuild that temple, he refused to comply; for which he was put to death in the year 414, and the churches of the Christians were levelled to the ground. This persecution was not however of long duration, but seems to have been extinguished soon after its commencement.

Vararenes, the son of the monarch already mentioned, treated the Christians in a manner yet more barbarous and inhuman in the year 421, to which he was led partly by the instigation of the Magi, and partly by his keen aversion to the Romans, with whom he was at war. For as often

[*w*] See besides Bede and Gilda, Jac. Usser. Antiquitat. Ecclesiæ Britannicæ, cap. xii. p. 415. Rapin Thoyras, Histoire d'Angleterre, tom. i. livr. ii. p. 91.

as the Persians and the Romans were at variance, so often did the Christians who dwelt in Persia feel new and redoubled effects of their monarch's wrath; and this from a prevailing notion, not perhaps entirely groundless, that they favoured the Romans, and rendered real services to their republic [x]. In this persecution, a prodigious number of Christians perished in the most exquisite tortures, and by various kinds of punishments [y]. But they were, at length, delivered from these cruel oppressions by the peace that was made in the year 427, between Vararenes and the Roman empire [z].

It was not from the pagans only that the Christians were exposed to suffering and persecution; they were moreover harassed and oppressed in a variety of ways by the Jews, who lived in great opulence, and enjoyed a high degree of favour and credit in several parts of the east [a]. Among these, none treated them with greater rigour and arrogance than Gamaliel, the patriarch of that nation, a man of the greatest power and influence, whose authority and violence were, on that account, restrained, in the year 415, by an express and particular edict of Theodosius the younger [b].

V. It does not appear, from any records of history now remaining, that any writings against Christ and his followers were published in this century, unless we consider as such the histories

Christianity opposed by secret enemies.

[x] Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. xxxix. p. 245. Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Abdas. Barbeyrac, De la Morale des Pères, p. 320.

[y] Jos. Sim. Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. i. p. 182. 248.

[z] Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. xx. p. 358.

[a] Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. xiii. p. 349. cap. xvi. p. 353. Codex Theodos. tom. vi. p. 265.

[b] Codex Theodos. tom. vi. p. 262.

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of Olympiodorus [*c*] and Zosimus, of whom the latter loses no opportunity of reviling the Christians, and loading them with the most unjust and bitter reproaches. But though the number of books written against Christianity was so small, yet we are not to suppose that its adversaries had laid aside the spirit of opposition. The schools of the philosophers and rhetoricians were yet open in Greece, Syria, and Egypt; and there is no doubt but that these subtle teachers laboured assiduously to corrupt the minds of the youth, and to instil into them, at least some of the principles of the ancient superstition [*d*]. The history of these times, and the writings of several Christians who lived in this century, exhibit evident proofs of these clandestine methods of opposing the progress of the gospel.

[*c*] Photius, Biblioth. Cod. lxxx. p. 178.

[*d*] Zacharias Mitylen. De Opificio Dei, p. 165. 200. edit. Barthii.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Learning and Philosophy.

I. THOUGH, in this century, the illiterate and ignorant were advanced to eminent and important stations, both ecclesiastical and civil, yet we must not conclude from thence, that the sciences were held in universal contempt. The value of learning, and the excellence of the finer arts, were yet generally acknowledged among the thinking part of mankind. Hence public schools were erected in almost all the great cities, such as Constantinople, Rome, Marseilles, Edessa, Nisibis, Carthage, Lyons, and Treves; and public instructors of capacity and genius were set apart for the education of the youth, and maintained at the expense of the emperors. Several bishops and monks contributed also to the advancement of knowledge, by imparting to others their small stock of learning and science. But the infelicity of the times, the incursions of the barbarous nations, and the scarcity of great geniuses, rendered the fruits of these excellent establishments much less than their generous founders and promoters expected. The state of letters among the Christians.

II. In the western provinces, and especially in Gaul, there were indeed some men eminently distinguished by their learning and talents, and every way proper to serve as models to the lower orders in the republic of letters. Of this we have abundant proof from the writings of Macrobius, Salvian, Vincentius, bishop of Liris, Ennodius, In the west.

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Sidonius, Apollinaris, Claudian, Mamertus, Dracontius, and others, who, though in some respects inferior to the more celebrated authors of antiquity, are yet far from being destitute of elegance, and discover in their productions a most laborious application to literary researches of various kinds. But the barbarous nations, which either spread desolation, or formed settlements in the Roman territories, choked the growth of those genial seeds, which the hand of science had sowed in more auspicious times. These savage invaders, possessed of no other ambition than that of conquest, and looking upon military courage as the only source of true virtue and solid glory, beheld, of consequence, the arts and sciences with the utmost contempt. Wherever therefore they extended their conquests, ignorance and darkness followed their steps, and the culture of the sciences was confined to the priests and monks alone. And even among these, learning degenerated from its primitive lustre, and put on the most unseemly and fantastic form. Amidst the seduction of corrupt examples, the alarms of perpetual danger, and the horrors and devastations of war, the Sacerdotal and Monastic orders lost gradually all taste for solid science, in the place of which they substituted a lifeless spectre, an enormous phantom of barbarous erudition. They indeed kept public schools, and instructed the youth in, what they called the seven liberal arts [*d*]; but these, as we learn from Augustin's account of them, consisted only of a certain number of dry, subtile, and useless precepts; and were consequently more adapted to load and perplex the memory, than to improve and strengthen the

☞ [*d*] These seven liberal arts were grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. See Cent. VIII. Part II. Chap. II. in this volume.

judgment. So that, towards the conclusion of this century, the sciences were almost totally extinguished; at least, what remained of them was no more than a shadowy form, without either solidity or consistence.

The state of philosophy in the west.

III. The few that applied themselves to the study of philosophy in this age had not, as yet, embraced the doctrine or method of Aristotle. They looked upon the system of this eminent philosopher, as a labyrinth beset with thorns and thistles [e]; and yet, had they been able to read and understand his works, it is probable, that many of them would have become his followers. The doctrine of Plato had a more established reputation, which it had enjoyed for several ages, and was considered, not only as less subtile and difficult than that of the Stagirite, but also as more conformable to the genius and spirit of the Christian religion. Besides, the most valuable of Plato's works were translated into Latin by Victorinus, and were thus adapted to general use [f]. And Sidonius Apollinaris [g] informs us, that all those among the Latins, who had any inclination to the study of truth, fell into the Platonic notions, and followed that sage as their philosophical guide.

In the east.

IV. The fate of learning was less deplorable among the Greeks and Orientals than in the western provinces; and not only the several branches of polite literature, but also the more solid and profound sciences, were cultivated by them with tolerable success. Hence we find among them more writers of genius and learning than in other

[e] The passages of different writers, that prove what is here advanced, are collected by Launoius, in his book, De varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Academia Parisiensi.

[f] See Augustini Confessionum lib. i. cap. ii. sect. 1. p. 105, 106. tom. i. opp.

[g] See his Epistles, book iv. ep. iii. xi. book ix. ep. ix.

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countries. Those, who inclined to the study of law, resorted generally to Berytus, famous for its learned academy [*h*], or to Alexandria [*i*], which latter city was frequented by the students of physic and chemistry. The professors of eloquence, poetry, philosophy, and the other liberal arts, taught the youth in public schools, which were erected in almost every city. Those however of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Edessa, were looked upon as superior to all others, both in point of erudition and method [*k*].

Modern Platonics.

V. The doctrine and sect of the modern Platonics retained as yet, among the Syrians and Alexandrians, a considerable part of their ancient splendour. Olympiodorus, Hero [*l*], and other philosophers of the first rank, added a lustre to the Alexandrian School. That of Athens was rendered famous by the talents and erudition of Theophrastus, Plutarch, and his successor Syrian. These were the instructors of the renowned Proclus, who far surpassed the Platonic philosophers of this century, and acquired such a high degree of the public esteem, as enabled him to give new life to the doctrine of Plato, and restore it to its former credit in Greece [*m*]. Marinus, of Neapolis, Ammonius the son of Hermias, Isidorus and Damascius, the disciples of Proclus, followed, with an ardent emulation, the traces of their master, and formed successors that resembled them in all respects. But the imperial laws, and the daily

[*h*] See Hasæi Lib. de Academia Jureconsultorum Berytensi; as also Mitylenæus, De Opificio Dei, p. 164.

[*i*] Zach. Mitylenæus, De Opificio Dei, p. 179.

[*k*] Æneas Gazæus in Theophrasto, p. 6, 7, 16, &c.

[*l*] Marinus, vita Procli, cap. ix. p. 19. edit. Fabricii.

[*m*] The life of Proclus, written by Marinus, was published in 4to at Hamburg, in the year 1700, by John Albert Fabricius, and was enriched by this famous editor, with a great number of learned observations.

progress of the Christian religion, gradually diminished the lustre and authority of these philosophers [n]. And as there were many of the Christian doctors who adopted the Platonic system, and were sufficiently qualified to explain it to the youth, this hindered, naturally, the schools of these heathen sages from being so much frequented as they had formerly been.

The philosophy of Aristotle rises into credit.

VI. The credit of the Platonic philosophy, and the preference that was given to it, as more excellent in itself, and less repugnant to the genius of the gospel than other systems, did not prevent the doctrine of Aristotle from coming to light after a long struggle, and forcing its way into the Christian church. The Platonics themselves interpreted, in their schools, some of the writings of Aristotle, particularly his Dialects, and recommended that work to such of the youth as had a taste for logical discussions, and were fond of disputing. In this, the Christian doctors imitated the manner of the heathen schools; and this was the first step to that universal dominion, which the Stagirite afterward obtained in the republic of letters. A second, and a yet larger stride which the Aristotelian philosophy made towards this universal empire, was, during the controversies which Origen had occasioned, and the Arian, Eutychian, Nestorian, and Pelagian dissensions, which, in this century, were so fruitful of calamities to the Christian church. Origen, as is well known, was zealously attached to the Platonic system: When, therefore, he was publicly condemned, many, to avoid the imputation of his errors, and to prevent their being counted among the number of his followers, adopted openly the philosophy of Aristotle, which was

[n] See Æneas Gazæus, in Theophrasto, p. 6, 7, 8, 13. edit. Barthii.

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entirely different from that of Origen. The Nestorian, Arian, and Eutychian controversies were managed, or rather drawn out, on both sides, by a perpetual recourse to subtle distinctions, and captious sophisms. And no philosophy was so proper to furnish such weapons, as that of Aristotle; for that of Plato was far from being adapted to form the mind to the Polemic arts. Besides, the Pelagian doctrine bore a striking resemblance of the Platonic opinions concerning God and the human soul; and this was an additional reason which engaged many to desert the Platonists, and to assume, at least, the name of Peripatetics.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Christian Church, and its Form of Government.

The external form of church government somewhat changed.

I. SEVERAL causes contributed to bring about a change in the external form of ecclesiastical government. The power of the bishops, particularly those of the first order, was sometimes augmented, and sometimes diminished, according as the times and the occasions offered; and in all these changes the intrigues of the court and the political state of the empire had much more influence, than the rules of equity and wisdom.

These alterations were, indeed, matters of small moment. But an affair of much greater consequence drew now the general attention, and this was the vast augmentation of honours and rank, that was at this time accumulated upon the bishops of Constantinople, in opposition to the most vigorous efforts of the Roman pontiff. In the preceding century, the council of Constantinople had, on account of the dignity and privileges of

that imperial city, conferred upon its bishops a place among the first rulers of the Christian church. This new dignity adding fuel to their ambition, they extended their views of authority and dominion, and encouraged, no doubt, by the consent of the emperor, reduced the provinces of Asia, Thrace, and Pontus, under their ghostly jurisdiction. In this century, they grasped at still further accessions of power; so that not only the whole eastern part of Illyricum was added to their former acquisitions, but they were also exalted to the highest summit of ecclesiastical authority. For, by the 28th Canon of the council held at Chalcedon in the year 451, it was resolved, that the same rights and honours, which had been conferred upon the bishop of Rome, were due to the bishop of Constantinople, on account of the equal dignity and lustre of the two cities, in which these prelates exercised their authority. The same council confirmed also, by a solemn act, the bishop of Constantinople in the spiritual government of those provinces over which he had ambitiously usurped the jurisdiction. Leo the Great, bishop of Rome, opposed, with vehemence, the passing of these decrees, and his opposition was seconded by that of several other prelates. But their efforts were vain, as the emperors threw in their weight into the balance, and thus supported the decisions of the Grecian bishops [*o*]. In consequence then of the decrees of this famous council, the bishop of Constantinople began to contend obstinately for the supremacy with the Roman pontiff, and to crush the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, so as to make them feel the oppressive effects of his pretended superiority. And none distinguished himself more by his ambition and arrogance in

[*o*] Le Quien, Oriens Christ. tom. i. p. 36.

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this matter, than Acacius, one of the bishops of that imperial city [*p*].

The ambition of Juvenal.

II. It was much about this time that Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, or rather of Ælia, attempted to withdraw himself and his church from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Cæsarea, and aspired after a place among the first prelates of the Christian world. The high degree of veneration and esteem, in which the church of Jerusalem was held among all other Christian societies (on account of its rank among the apostolical churches, and its title to the appellation of mother-church, as having succeeded the first Christian assembly founded by the apostles), was extremely favourable to the ambition of Juvenal, and rendered his project much more practicable, than it would otherwise have been. Encouraged by this, and animated by the favour and protection of Theodosius the younger, the aspiring prelate not only assumed the dignity of patriarch of all Palestine [*q*], a rank that rendered him supreme and independent of all spiritual authority, but also invaded the rights of the bishop of Antioch, and usurped his jurisdiction over the provinces of Phœnicia and Arabia. Hence there arose a warm contest between Juvenal and

[*p*] See Bayle's Dictionary in English, at the article Acacius.

[*q*] By *all Palestine*, the reader is desired to understand three distinct provinces, of which each bore the name of Palestine, and accordingly the original is thus expressed, Trium Palæstinarum Episcopum seu Patriarchum. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the face of Palestine was almost totally changed; and it was so parcelled out and wasted by a succession of wars and invasions, that it preserved scarcely any trace of its former condition. Under the Christian emperors there were three Palestines formed out of the ancient country of that name, each of which was an episcopal see. And it was of these three dioceses that Juvenal usurped and maintained the jurisdiction. See for a further account of the Three Palestines, Spanhemii Geographia Sacra, opp. tom. i. p. 79.

Maximus, bishop of Antioch, which the council of Chalcedon decided, by restoring to the latter the provinces of Phœnicia and Arabia, and confirming the former in the spiritual possession of all Palestine [r], and in the high rank which he had assumed in the church [s]. By this means there were created, in this century, five superior rulers of the church, who were distinguished from the rest by the title of patriarchs [t]. The oriental historians mention a sixth, viz. the bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to whom, according to their account, the bishop of Antioch voluntarily ceded a part of his jurisdiction [u]. But this addition to the number of the patriarchs is unworthy of credit, as the only proof of it is drawn from the Arabic laws of the council of Nice, which are notoriously destitute of all authority.

The rights and privileges of the patriarchs.

III. The patriarchs were distinguished by considerable and extensive rights and privileges, that were annexed to their high station. They alone consecrated the bishops, who lived in the provinces that belonged to their jurisdiction. They assembled yearly in council the clergy of their respective districts, in order to regulate the affairs of the church. The cognizance of all important causes, and the determination of the more weighty controversies, were referred to the patriarch of the province where they arose. They also pronounced a decisive judgment in those cases, where accusations were brought against bishops. And,

[r] See also for an account of the Three Palestines, Caroli à S. Paulo Geographia Sacra, p. 307.

[s] See Mich. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. iii. p. 110.

[t] See the authors who have written concerning the patriarchs, which are mentioned and recommended by the learned Fabricius, in his Bibliograph. Antiquar. cap. xiii. p. 453.

[u] Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. i. p. 9, 13, &c.

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lastly, they appointed vicars [w], or deputies, clothed with their authority, for the preservation of order and tranquillity in the remoter provinces. Such were the great and distinguishing privileges of the patriarchs; and they were accompanied with others of less moment, which it is needless to mention.

It must, however, be carefully observed, that the authority of the patriarchs was not acknowledged through all the provinces without exception. Several districts, both in the eastern and western empires were exempted from their jurisdiction [x]. The emperors, who reserved to themselves the supreme power in the Christian hierarchy, and received with great facility and readiness the complaints of those who considered themselves as injured by the patriarchs; the councils also, in which the majesty and legislative power of the church immediately resided; all these were so many obstacles to the arbitrary proceedings of the patriarchal order.

The inconveniences that accompanied the patriarchal authority and government.

IV. This constitution of ecclesiastical government was so far from contributing to the peace and prosperity of the Christian church, that it proved, on the contrary, a perpetual source of dissensions and animosities, and was productive of various inconveniences and grievances. The patriarchs, who, by their exalted rank and extensive authority, were equally able to do much good and much mischief, began to encroach upon the rights, and to trample upon the prerogatives of their bishops, and thus introduced, gradually, a

[w] Dav. Blondel. De la Primauté de l'Eglise, chap. xxv. p. 332. Theod. Ruinart. De Pallio Archi-Episcopali, p. 445. tom. ii. of the posthumous works of Mabillon.

[x] Edward Brerewodius, Dissert. de* Veteris Ecclesiæ Gubernatione Patriarchali; which is printed at the end of archbishop Usher's book, entitled Opusculum de Origine Episcoporum et Metropolitan.

sort of spiritual bondage into the church. And that they might invade, without opposition, the rights of the bishops, they permitted the bishops, in their turn, to trample with impunity upon the ancient rights and privileges of the people. For, in proportion as the bishops multiplied their privileges, and extended their usurpations, the patriarchs gained new accessions of power, by the despotism which they exercised over the episcopal order. They fomented also divisions among the bishops, and excited animosities between the bishops and the other ministers of the church; nay, they went still further, and sowed the seeds of discord between the clergy and the people, that all these combustions might furnish them with perpetual matter for the exercise of their authority, and procure them a multitude of clients and dependants. They left no artifice unemployed to strengthen their own authority, and to raise opposition against the bishops from every quarter. For this purpose it was, that they engaged in their cause by the most alluring promises, and attached to their interests by the most magnificent acts of liberality, whole swarms of monks, who served as intestine enemies to the bishops, and as a dead weight on the side of patriarchal tyranny. These monastic hirelings contributed more than any thing else to ruin the ancient ecclesiastical discipline, to diminish the authority of the bishops, and raise, to an enormous and excessive height, the power and prerogatives of their insolent and ambitious patrons.

The contentions of the patriarchs.

V. To these lamentable evils were added the ambitious quarrels, and the bitter animosities, that rose among the patriarchs, themselves, and which produced the most bloody wars, and the most detestable and horrid crimes. The patriarch of Constantinople distinguished himself in these odious contests. Elated with the favour and prox-

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imity of the imperial court, he cast a haughty eye on all sides, where any objects were to be found on which he might exercise his lordly ambition. On the one hand, he reduced, under his jurisdiction, the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, as prelates only of the second order; and, on the other, he invaded the diocese of the Roman pontiff, and spoiled him of several provinces. The two former prelates, though they struggled with vehemence, and raised considerable tumults by their opposition, yet they struggled ineffectually, both for want of strength, and likewise on account of a variety of unfavourable circumstances. But the Roman pontiff, far superior to them in wealth and power, contended also with more vigour and obstinacy, and, in his turn, gave a deadly wound to the usurped supremacy of the Byzantine patriarch.

The attentive inquirer into the affairs of the church, from this period, will find, in the events now mentioned, the principal source of those most scandalous and deplorable dissensions, which divided first the eastern church into various sects, and afterwards separated it entirely from that of the west. He will find, that these ignominious schisms flowed chiefly from the unchristian contentions for dominion and supremacy, which reigned among those who set themselves up for the fathers and defenders of the church.

The power of the bishop of Rome.

VI. None of the contending bishops found the occurrences of the times so favourable to his ambition, as the Roman pontiff. Notwithstanding the redoubled efforts of the bishop of Constantinople, a variety of circumstances united in augmenting his power and authority, though he had not, as yet, assumed the dignity of supreme lawgiver and judge of the whole Christian church. The bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, unable to make head against the lordly prelate of

Constantinople, fled often to the Roman pontiff for succour against his violence; and the inferior order of bishops used the same method, when their rites were invaded by the prelates of Alexandria and Antioch. So that the bishop of Rome, by taking all these prelates alternately under his protection, daily added new degrees of influence and authority to the Roman see, rendered it every where respected, and was thus imperceptibly establishing its supremacy. Such were the means by which the Roman pontiff extended his dominion in the east. In the west its increase was owing to other causes. The declining power and the supine indolence of the emperors left the authority of the bishop who presided in their imperial city almost without control. The incursions, moreover, and triumphs of the barbarians were so far from being prejudicial to his rising dominion, that they rather contributed to its advancement. For the kings, who penetrated into the empire, were only solicitous about the methods of giving a sufficient degree of stability to their respective governments. And when they perceived the subjection of the multitude to the bishops, and the dependance of the bishops upon the Roman pontiff, they immediately resolved to reconcile this ghostly ruler to their interests, by loading him with benefits and honours of various kinds.

Among all the prelates who ruled the church of Rome during this century, there was none who asserted, with such vigour and success, the authority and pretensions of the Roman pontiff as Leo, commonly surnamed the Great. It must be, however, observed, that neither he, nor the other promoters of that cause, were able to overcome all the obstacles that were laid in their way, nor the various checks which were given to their ambition. Many examples might be alleged in

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proof of this point, particularly the case of the Africans, whom no threats nor promises could engage to submit the decision of their controversies, and the determination of their causes, to the Roman tribunal [y].

The vices of the clergy.

VII. The vices of the clergy were now carried to the most enormous lengths; and all the writers of this century, whose probity and virtue render them worthy of credit, are unanimous in their accounts of the luxury, arrogance, avarice, and voluptuousness of the sacerdotal orders. The bishops, and particularly those of the first rank, created various delegates, or ministers, who managed for them the affairs of their dioceses, and a sort of courts were gradually formed, where these pompous ecclesiastics gave audience, and received the homage of a cringing multitude. The office of a presbyter was looked upon of such a high and eminent nature, that Martin, bishop of Tours, was so audacious as to maintain, at a public entertainment, that the emperor was inferior, in dignity, to one of that order [z]. As to the deacons, their pride and licentiousness occasioned many and grievous complaints, as appears from the decrees of several councils [a].

These opprobrious stains in the characters of the clergy would never have been endured, had not the greatest part of mankind been sunk in superstition and ignorance, and all in general formed their ideas of the rights and liberties of Christian ministers from the model exhibited by the sacerdotal orders among the Hebrews, the

[y] Lud. El. Du Pin, De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina, Diss. ii. p. 166. Melch. Leydeckeri Historia Eccles. Africanæ, tom. ii. Diss. ii. p. 505.

[z] Sulpitius Severus, De Vita Martini, cap. xx. p. 339. compared with Dialog. ii. cap. vi. p. 457.

[a] See Dav. Blondel. Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris, p. 140.

Greeks, and Romans, during the law of Moses, and the darkness of paganism. The barbarous nations, also, those fierce and warlike Germans, who, after the defeat of the Romans, divided among them the western empire, bore, with the utmost patience and moderation, both the dominion and vices of the bishops and priests, because, upon their conversion to Christianity, they became naturally subject to their jurisdiction; and still more, because they looked upon the ministers of Christ as invested with the same rights and privileges, which distinguished the priests of their fictitious deities.

The sources from whence proceeded the vices of the clergy.

VIII. The corruption of that order, who were appointed to promote by their doctrine and examples, the sacred interests of piety and virtue, will appear less surprising when we consider, that multitudes of people of all kinds were every where admitted, without examination and without choice, into the body of the clergy, the greatest part of whom had no other view than the enjoyment of a lazy and inglorious repose. Many of these ecclesiastics were confined to no fixed places or assemblies, had no employment of any kind, but sauntered about wherever they pleased, gaining their maintenance by imposing upon the ignorant multitude, and sometimes by mean and dishonest practices.

But if any should ask, how this account is reconcileable with the number of saints, who, according to the testimonies of both the eastern and western writers, are said to have shone forth in this century? The answer is obvious; these saints were canonized by the ignorance of the times. For, in an age of darkness and corruption, those who distinguished themselves from the multitude, either by their genius, their writings, or their eloquence, by their prudence and dexterity in managing matters of importance, or by their

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meekness and moderation, and the ascendant they had gained over their resentments and passions; all such were esteemed something more than men; they were reverenced as gods; or, to speak more properly, they appeared to others as men divinely inspired and full of the deity.

The monks.

IX. The monks, who had formerly lived only for themselves in solitary retreats, and had never thought of assuming any rank among the sacerdotal order, were now gradually distinguished from the populace, and were endowed with such opulence, and such honourable privileges, that they found themselves in a condition to claim an eminent station among the supports and pillars of the Christian community [*b*]. The fame of their piety and sanctity was at first so great, that bishops and presbyters were often chosen out of their order [*c*], and the passion of erecting edifices and convents, in which the monks and holy virgins might serve God in the most commodious manner, was at this time carried beyond all bounds [*d*].

The monastic orders did not all observe the same rule of discipline, nor the same manner of living. Some followed the rule of Augustin, others that of Basil, others that of Anthony, others that of Athanasius, others that of Pachomius; but they must all have become extremely negligent and remiss in observing the laws of their respective orders, since the licentiousness of the monks, even in this century, was

[*b*] Epiphanius, Exposit. Fidei, tom. i. opp. p. 1094. Mabillon, Reponse aux Chanoines Regulieres, tom. ii. of his posthumous works, p. 115.

[*c*] Sulpitius Severus, De Vita Martini, cap. x. p. 320. Dial. i. cap. xxi. p. 426.

[*d*] Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i. p. 419. Norisius, Histor. Pelag. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 273. tom. i. opp. Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 35.

become a proverb [e], and they are said to have excited the most dreadful tumults and seditions in various places. All the monastic orders of all sorts were under the protection of the bishops in whose provinces they lived, nor did the patriarchs claim any authority over them, as appears with the utmost evidence from the decrees of the councils held in this century [f].

X. Several writers of considerable merit adorned this century. Among the Greeks and Orientals, the first place is due to Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, so famous for his learned productions, and the various controversies in which he was engaged. It would be unjust to derogate from the praises which are due to this eminent man; but it would betray, on the other hand, a criminal partiality, did we pass uncensured the turbulent spirit, the litigious and contentious temper, and the other defects, which are laid to his charge [g]. Greek writers.

After Cyril, we may place Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, an eloquent, copious, and learned writer, eminent for his acquaintance with all the branches of sacred erudition, but unfortunate in his attachment to some of the Nestorian errors [h].

[e] Sulp. Severus, Dial. i. cap. viii. p. 399.

[f] See Jo. Launoii Inquisitio in Chartam Immunitatis B. Germani, opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 8. In the ancient records, posterior to this century, the monks are frequently called clerks. (See Mabillon. Præf. ad Sæc. ii. Actor. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti, p. 14.) And this shows, that they now began to be ranked among the clergy, or ministers of the church.

[g] The works of Cyril, in six volumes folio, were published at Paris by Aubert, in the year 1638.

[h] The Jesuit Sirmond gave at Paris, in the year 1642, a noble edition of the works of this prelate in four volumes in folio; a fifth was added by Garnier, in 1685. ☞ We must observe in favour of this excellent ecclesiastic, so renowned for the sanctity and simplicity of his manners, that he abandoned the doctrines of Nestorius, and thus effaced the stain he had contracted by his personal attachment to that heretic, and to John of Antioch.

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Isidore of Pelusium was a man of uncommon learning and sanctity. A great number [*i*] of his epistles are yet extant, and discover more piety, genius, erudition, and wisdom, than are to be found in the voluminous productions of many other writers [*k*].

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, few of whose writings are now extant, acquired an immortal name, by his violent opposition to Origen and his followers [*l*].

Palladius deserves a rank among the better sort of authors, by his Lausiac history, and his Life of Chrysostom.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, though accused after his death of the greatest errors, was one of the most learned men of his time. Those who have read, with any attention, the fragments of his writings, which are to be found in Photius, will lament the want of these excellent compositions, which are either entirely lost, or, if any remain [*m*], are only extant among the Nestorians, and that in the Syriac language [*n*].

☞ [*i*] The number of these epistles amounts to 2012, which are divided into five books. They are short, but admirably written, and are equally recommendable for the solidity of the matter, and the purity and elegance of their style.

[*k*] The best edition of Isidore's Epistles is that which was published in folio, by the Jesuit Scott, at Paris, in 1638.

[*l*] See Fuseb. Renaudotus, Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor. p. 103.

[*m*] See Jos. Simon Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatic. tom. iii. part ii. p. 227.

☞ [*n*] It appears by this account of the works of Theodore, that Dr. Mosheim had not seen the Dissertations of the late Duke of Orleans, in one of which that learned prince has demonstrated, that the Commentary upon the Psalms, which is to be found in the Chain, or collection of Corderius, and which bears the name of Theodore, is the production of Theodore of Mopsuestia. There exists also, besides the fragments that are to be found in Photius, a manuscript commentary of this illustrious author upon the twelve minor prophets.

Nilus, disciple of Chrysostom, composed several treatises of a practical and pious kind; but these performances derive more merit from the worthy and laudable intention of their author than from any other circumstance.

We pass over in silence Basilius of Seleucia; Theodotus of Ancyra; and Gelasius of Cyzicum, for the sake of brevity.

The Latin writers.

XI. A Roman pontiff, Leo I. surnamed the Great, shines forth at the head of the Latin writers of this century. He was a man of uncommon genius and eloquence, which he employed however too much in extending his authority; a point in which his ambition was both indefatigable and excessive [*o*].

Orosius acquired a considerable degree of reputation by the history he wrote to refute the cavils of the pagans against Christianity, and by his books against the Pelagians and Priscillianists [*p*].

Cassian, an illiterate and superstitious man, inculcated in Gaul, both by his discourse and his writings, the discipline and manner of living which prevailed among the Syrian and Egyptian monks, and was a sort of teacher to those who were called Semi-pelagians [*q*].

Maximus of Turin published several homilies, which are yet extant; and, though short, are, for

[*o*] All the works of Leo were published at Lyons, in two volumes folio, in the year 1700, by the care of the celebrated Quenel of the oratory.

[*p*] See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Orosius. A valuable edition of this author, enriched with ancient coins and medals, was published in 4to, at Leyden, in the year 1738, by the learned Havercamp.

[*q*] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 215. Simon, Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiastique, par Du Pin, tom. i. p. 156. The works of Cassian were published in folio at Francfort, in the year 1722, with a large Commentary by Alardus Gazæus.

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the most part, recommendable, both for their elegance and piety.

Eucherius of Lyons, and bishop of that city, was one of the most considerable moral writers that flourished among the Latins in this century [*r*].

Pontius of Nola [*s*], distinguished by his eminent and fervent piety, is also esteemed for his poems and other good performances.

Peter, bishop of Ravenna, obtained, by his eloquence, the title of Chrysologus; nor are his discourses entirely destitute of genius [*t*].

Salvian was an eloquent, but, at the same time, a melancholy and sour writer, who, in his vehement declamations against the vices of his times, unwarily discovers the defects of his own character [*u*].

[*r*] See a large account of this prelate, in the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 275.

☞ [*s*] This pious and ingenious ecclesiastic is more generally known by the name of Paulin. See Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 179. The best edition of his works is that published by Le Brun, at Paris, in the year 1685, in two volumes, 4to.

[*t*] Agnelli Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiæ Ravennatensis, tom. i. p. 321.

[*u*] Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. ii. p. 517. ☞ The authors of the history here referred to, give a different account of Salvian's character. They acknowledge, that his declamations against the vices of the age, in his Treatise against Avarice, and his Discourse concerning Providence, are warm and vehement; but they represent him, notwithstanding, as one of the most humane and benevolent men of his time. It is, however, beyond all doubt, that he was extravagantly austere in the rules he prescribed for the conduct of life. For what is more unnatural than to recommend to Christians, as a necessary condition of salvation, their leaving their whole substance to the poor, to the utter ruin of their children and relations? It must, however, be confessed, that his austerity in point of discipline was accompanied with the most amiable moderation towards those who differed from him in articles of faith. There is a most remarkable passage to this purpose, in his Treatise concerning Providence, book v. p. 100.

Prosper of Aquitain, and Marius Mercator, are abundantly known to such as have employed any part of their time and attention in the study of the Pelagian disputes, and the other controversies that were managed in this century.

Vincent of Lerins gained a lasting reputation by his short but excellent treatise against the sects, intitled Commonitorium [*w*].

Sidonius Apollinaris, a timid writer, though not entirely destitute of eloquence; Virgilius of Tapsus; Arnobius the younger, who wrote a commentary on the book of Psalms; Dracontius, and others of that class, are of too little consequence to deserve a more particular notice.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Church during this Century.

I. MANY points of religion were more largely explained, and many of its doctrines determined with more accuracy and precision, than they had been in the preceding ages. This was owing to the controversies that were multiplied, at this time, throughout the Christian world, concerning the person and nature of Christ; the innate corruption and depravity of man; the natural ability of men to live according to the dictates of the

Many points of religion determined.

☞ [*w*] This work of Vincent, which is commended by our author, seems scarcely worthy of such applause. I see nothing in it, but that blind veneration for ancient opinions, which is so fatal to the discovery and progress of truth, and an attempt to prove that nothing but the voice of tradition is to be consulted in fixing the sense of the Holy Scriptures. An ample account of Vincent, Prosper, and Arnobius, is to be found in the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 305. 342. 369.

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divine law; the necessity of the divine grace in order to salvation; the nature and existence of human liberty; and other such intricate and perplexing questions. The sacred and venerable simplicity of the primitive times, which required no more than a true faith in the word of God, and a sincere obedience to his holy laws, appeared little better than rusticity and ignorance to the subtile doctors of this quibbling age. Yet, so it happened, that many of the over-curious divines, who attempted to explain the nature and remove the difficulties of these intricate doctrines, succeeded very ill in this matter. Instead of leading men into the paths of humble faith and genuine piety, they bewildered them in the labyrinths of controversy and contention, and rather darkened than illustrated the sacred mysteries of religion by a thick cloud of unintelligible subtilties, ambiguous terms, and obscure distinctions. Hence arose new matter of animosity and dispute, of bigotry and uncharitableness, which flowed like a torrent through succeeding ages, and which all human efforts seem unable to vanquish. In these disputes, the heat of passion, and the excessive force of religious antipathy and contradiction, hurried frequently the contending parties into the most dangerous extremes.

Superstition grows apace.

II. If, before this time, the lustre of religion was clouded with superstition, and its divine precepts adulterated with a mixture of human inventions, this evil, instead of diminishing, increased daily. The happy souls of departed Christians were invoked by numbers, and their aid implored by assiduous and fervent prayers; while none stood up to censure or oppose this preposterous worship. The question, how the prayers of mortals ascended to the celestial spirits (a question which afterwards produced much wrangling, and many idle fancies), did not as yet

occasion any difficulty; for the Christians of this century did not imagine that the souls of the saints were so entirely confined to the celestial mansions, as to be deprived of the privilege of visiting mortals, and travelling, when they pleased, through various countries. They were further of opinion, that the places most frequented by departed spirits were those where the bodies they had formerly animated were interred; and this opinion, which the Christians borrowed from the Greeks and Romans, rendered the sepulchres of the saints the general rendezvous of suppliant multitudes [x]. The images of those who, during their lives, had acquired the reputation of uncommon sanctity, were now honoured with a particular worship in several places; and many imagined, that this worship drew down into the images the propitious presence of the saints or celestial beings they represented; deluded, perhaps, into this idle fancy by the crafty fictions of the heathen priests, who had published the same thing concerning the statues of Jupiter and Mercury [y]. A singular and irresistible efficacy was also attributed to the bones of martyrs, and to the figure of the cross, in defeating the attempts of Satan, removing all sorts of calamities, and in healing, not only the diseases of the body, but also those of the mind [z]. We shall not

[x] Lactantius, Divinar. Institutionum lib. i. p. 164. Hesiodus, Opp. et Dier. ver. 122. Compare with these, Sulpitius Severus, Epist. ii. p. 371. Dial. ii. cap. xiii. p. 474. Dial. iii. p. 512. Æneas Gazæus, in Theophrasto, p. 65. Macarius in Jac. Tollii Insignibus Itineris Italici, p. 197. and other writers of this age.

[y] Clementina, Homil. x. p. 697. tom. i. PP. Apostolic. Arnobius, adv. Gentes, lib. vi. p. 254. Casp. Barthius, ad Rutilium Numantian, p. 250.

[z] Prudentius, Hymn. xi. de Coronis, p. 150, 151. Sulpitius Severus, Ep. i. p. 364. Æneas Gazæus, in Theophrasto, p. 139.

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enter here into a particular account of the public supplications, the holy pilgrimages, the superstitious services paid to departed souls, the multiplication of temples, altars, penitential garments, and a multitude of other circumstances, that showed the decline of genuine piety, and the corrupt darkness that was eclipsing the lustre of primitive Christianity. As there were none in these times to hinder the Christians from retaining the opinions of their pagan ancestors concerning departed souls, heroes, demons, temples, and such like matters, and even transferring them into their religious services; and as, instead of entirely abolishing the rites and institutions of ancient times, these institutions were still observed, with only some slight alterations; all this swelled of necessity the torrent of superstition, and deformed the beauty of the Christian religion and worship with those corrupt remains of paganism, which still subsist in a certain church.

It will not be improper to observe here, that the famous pagan doctrine, concerning the purification of departed souls, by means of a certain kind of fire, was more amply explained and confirmed now than it had formerly been [*a*]. Every body knows, that this doctrine proved an inexhaustible source of riches to the clergy through the succeeding ages, and that it still enriches the Romish church with its nutritious streams.

Interpretations of scripture.

III. The interpretation of the Holy Scriptures employed fewer pens in this century than in the preceding age, in which the Christian doctors were less involved in the labyrinths of controversy. Yet, notwithstanding the multiplication of reli-

[*a*] See, particularly concerning this matter, Augustin, his book de viii. Quæstionibus ad Dulcitium, N. xiii. tom. vi. opp. p. 128. De fide et operibus, cap. xvi. p. 182. De fide, spe, et charitate, sect. 118, p. 222. Enarratione, Psal. xxxv. sect. 3, &c.

gious disputes, a considerable number of learned men undertook this useful and important task. We shall not mention those who confined their illustrations to some one, or a few books of the divine word, such as Victor of Antioch, Polychronius, Philo, Carpathius, Isidore of Cordoua, Salonius, and Andrew of Cæsarea. We must not, however, pass over in silence Theodoret and Theodore, bishops of Cyrus and Mopsuestia, the two most famous expositors of this age, who illustrated a great part of the Holy Scriptures by their pious labours. They were truly eminent, both in point of learning and genius; and, free and unprejudiced in their search after truth, they followed the explications of scripture given by their predecessors, only as far as they found them agreeable to reason. The commentaries of Theodoret are yet extant, and in the hands of the learned [*b*]; those of Theodore are concealed in the east among the Nestorians, though on many accounts worthy to see the light [*c*]. Cyril, of Alexandria, deserves also a place among the commentators of this century; but a still higher rank, among that useful and learned body, is due to Isidore of Pelusium, whose epistles

[*b*] See Simon, Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. Test. chap. xxii. p. 314; as also his Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiast. de Du Pin, tom. i. p. 180. ☞ Theodoret wrote commentaries upon the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, the Psalms, the Canticles, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, the 12 lesser prophets, and St. Paul's 14 Epistles.

[*c*] Jos. Sim. Asseman. Biblioth. Oriental. Clem. Vatic. tom. iii. sect. 2. p. 227. Simon, Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de Du Pin, tom. i. p. 108. 677. ☞ We are assured by Fabricius, upon the testimony of Lambecius, that Theodore's commentary upon the twelve prophets is still in being, in MS. in the emperor's library at Vienna. See Fabr. Bibl. Græc. tom. ix. p. 162. See also ☞ an ample and learned account of the writings of this author, Lardner's Credibility, &c. vol. ix. p. 389.

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contain many observations, which cast a considerable degree of light upon several parts of scripture [*d*].

Many chimerical and weak commentators.

IV. It is, however, to be lamented, that the greatest part of the commentators, both Greek and Latin, following the idle fancies of Origen, overlooked the true and natural sense of the words, and hunted after subtile and hidden significations, for mysteries (as the Latins then termed them) in the plainest precepts of the Holy Scriptures. Several of the Greeks, and particularly Theodoret, laboured with success and precision, in illustrating the books of the New Testament; and their success here is to be principally attributed to their perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which they had learned from their infancy. But neither the Greeks nor Latins cast much light upon the Old Testament, which was cruelly tortured by the allegorical pens of almost all who attempted to illustrate and explain it. For nothing is more common than to see the interpreters of the fifth century straining all the passages of that sacred book, either to typify Christ, and the blessings of his kingdom, or Antichrist, and the wars and desolations which he was to bring upon the earth, and that, without the least spark of judgment, or the smallest air of probability.

Some of more wisdom and judgment.

V. A few chosen spirits, superior to the others in sagacity and wisdom, were bold enough to stand up against these critical delusions, and to point out a safer and plainer way to divine truth. This we learn from the epistles of Isidore of Pelusium, who, though he was not himself entirely free from this allegorical contagion, yet censures

[*d*] See for an account of these two authors, Simon, Histoire des Principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament, *ch.* xxi. *p.* 300.

judiciously, in many places, those that abandoned the historical sense of the Old Testament, and applied, universally, all its narrations and predictions to Christ alone. But none went greater lengths in censuring the fanciful followers of Origen, than Theodore of Mopsuestia, who not only wrote a book concerning allegory and history, against Origen [*e*], but also, in his commentary on the prophets, did not hesitate to apply the most of their predictions to various events in ancient history [*f*]. This manner of interpreting scripture was very ill received, and contributed, perhaps, more to raise the general cry against him, than all the erroneous doctrines with which he was charged [*g*]. The Nestorians followed the example of this remarkable and eminent man [*h*]; and still continue to consider him as a saint of the first order, and to preserve his writings with the utmost care, as precious monuments of his piety and learning.

VI. The doctrines of religion were, at this time, understood and represented in a manner that savoured little of their native purity and sim- Didactic theology.

[*e*] Facundus Hermianensis, De Tribus Capitulis, lib. iii. cap. vi. Liberatus, in Breviario, cap. xxiv.

[*f*] Acta Concilii Constantinopol. II. seu Œcumenici V. tom. iii. Conciliorum, p. 58. edit. Harduini.

[*g*] Theodore, after his death, was considered as the parent of the Pelagian and Nestorian heresies; though during his life he was held in the highest esteem, and died in the communion of the church.

[*h*] This appears by the testimony of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a writer of the sixth century, who was undoubtedly a Nestorian. For this author, in the fifth book of his Christian Topography, which Montfaucon published in his new collection of the Greek fathers, maintains, that of all the Psalms of David, four only are applicable to Christ. And to confirm this his opinion, he affirms boldly, that the writers of the New Testament when they apply to Jesus the prophecies of the Old, do this rather by a mere accommodation of the words, without any regard to their true and genuine sense.

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plicity. They were drawn out by laboured commentaries beyond the terms in which the divine wisdom had thought fit to reveal them; and were examined with that minuteness and subtilty that were only proper to cover them with obscurity. And what was still worse, the theological notions that generally prevailed, were proved rather by the authorities, and logical discussions of the ancient doctors, than by the unerring dictates of the divine word. It does not appear that in this century any attempted to form a complete system of theology, unless we give that title to six books of instruction, which Nicaeas is said to have composed for the use of the Neophytes [*i*]. But as we have already observed, the principal branches of religion were laboriously explained in the various books that were written against the Nestorians, Eutychians, Pelagians, and Arians.

The managers of the controversy against the Jews, Pagans, and Sectaries.

VII. The number of those who disputed in this century against paganism and infidelity was very considerable, yet not greater than the exigency of the times, and the frequent attacks made upon Christianity, rendered necessary. Theodoret, in his ingenious and learned treatise, De curandis Græcorum affectionibus, Orientius, in his Commonitorium, and Evagrius, in his Dispute between Zachaeus and Apollonius, opposed, with fortitude and vigour, those that worshipped images, and offered their religious services to the Pagan deities [*k*]. To these we may add Philip Sidetes and Philostorgius, of whom the latter attacked Porphyry, and the former Julian. Basilius of Seleucia; Gregentius, in his Controversy with Herbanus; and Evagrius, in his Dialogue between Theophilus and Judæus, ex-

[*i*] Gennadius Massiliensis De Scriptor. Ecclesiast. cap. xxii. p. 28. edit. Fabric.

[*k*] See for an account of Orientius and Evagrius, Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 181, and 252.

posed and refuted the errors and cavils of the Jews. Voconius the African; Syagrius, in his Book concerning Faith; Gennadius of Marseille, who deserves to be placed in the first rank; and Theodoret in his Treatise concerning the Fables of the Heretics, opposed all the different sects; not to mention those who wrote only against the errors of one or other particular party.

The defects of these disputants.

VIII. Those who disputed against the Christian sects observed a most absurd and vicious method of controversy. They proceeded rather according to the rules of the ancient sophists, and, what is still more surprising, according to the spirit of the Roman law, than by the examples and instructions of Christ and his apostles. In the Roman courts, matters of a difficult and doubtful nature were decided by the authority of certain aged lawyers, who were distinguished by their abilities and experience. And when they happened to differ in opinion, the point was determined either by a plurality of voices, or by the sentiments of the more learned and illustrious members of that venerable body [*l*]. This procedure of the Roman tribunals was, in this century, admitted as a standing law, both in the deliberations of councils, and in the management of religious controversy, to the great and unspeakable detriment of truth. For by this, reason, and even common sense, were, in some measure, excluded from every question; and that was determined as right and true, which appeared such to the greatest number, or had been approved by doctors of the greatest note in preceding times. The acts of the various councils, which are yet extant, manifestly show that this was the case. And this circumstance, combined with what we

[*l*] See the Codex Theodos. lib. i. tit. iv. De responsis prudentum, p. 32. edit. Ritterian.

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have already observed with respect to the disputants of the age now under consideration, make it easy for us to imagine the various defects that must have prevailed in the methods of defending truth and opposing error.

Spurious writings.

IX. This absurd imitation of the Roman law, in the management of religious controversy, this preposterous method of deciding truth by human authorities, were fruitful sources of spurious and suppositious productions. For many audacious impostors were hence encouraged to publish their own writings under the names of ancient Christian worthies, nay, under the sacred names of even Christ himself and his holy apostles; that thus, in the deliberations of councils, and in the course of controversy, they might have authorities to oppose to authorities in defence of their respective opinions. The whole Christian church was, in this century, overwhelmed with these infamous cheats, these spurious productions. This is said to have engaged Gelasius, the Roman pontiff, to call together a council, composed of the bishops of the Latin church; in which assembly, after a strict examination of those writings which appeared under great and venerable names, the famous decree passed, that deprived so many apocryphal books of their borrowed authority. That something of this kind really happened, it would be, perhaps, an instance of temerity to deny: but many learned men assert, that the decree attributed to Gelasius labours under the same inconveniency with the books which it condemns, and was by no means the production of that pontiff, but of some deceiver, who usurped clandestinely his name and authority [*m*].

[*m*] Pearsonus, Vindiciar. Ignatianar. part I. cap. iv. p. 109. Cave, Hist. Litter. Scriptor. Ecclesias. p. 260. Urb. Godofr. Siberus, Præfat. ad Enchiridion Sexti, p. 79.

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Moral writers.

X. Eucherius, Salvian, and Nilus, shine with a superior lustre among the moral writers of this century. The epistle of Eucherius, concerning the Contempt of the World, and the secular Philosophy, is an excellent performance, both in point of matter and style. The works of Mark the hermit breathe a spirit of fervent piety, but are highly defective in many respects: The matter is ill chosen, and it is treated without order, perspicuity, or force of reasoning. Fastidius composed several discourses concerning moral duties, but they have not survived the ruins of time. The works that are yet extant of Diadochus, Prosper, and Severian, are extremely pleasing, on account of the solidity and elegance which are to be found, for the most part, in their moral sentences, though they afford but indifferent entertainment to such as are desirous of precision, method, and sound argumentation. And indeed this want of method in the distribution and arrangement of their matter, and a constant neglect of tracing their subject to its first principles, are defects common to almost all the moral writers of this century.

XI. Had this, indeed, been their only defect, the candid and impartial would have supported it with patience, and attributed it charitably to the infelicity of the times. But many of the writers and teachers of this age did unspeakable injury to the cause of true piety by their crude and enthusiastic inventions. The Mystics, who pretended to higher degrees of perfection than other Christians, drew every where to their party, particularly in the eastern provinces, a vast number of the ignorant and inconsiderate multitude, by the striking appearance of their austere and singular piety. It is impossible to describe the rigour and severity of the laws which these senseless fanatics imposed upon themselves, in order, as they al-

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ledged, to appease the deity, and to deliver the celestial spirit from the bondage of this mortal body. They not only lived among the wild beasts, but also lived after the manner of these savage animals; they ran naked through the lonely deserts with a furious aspect, and with all the agitations of madness and frenzy; they prolonged the life of their emaciated bodies by the wretched nourishment of grass and wild herbs, avoided the sight and conversation of men, remained motionless in certain places for several years, exposed to the rigour and inclemency of the seasons, and towards the conclusion of their lives, shut themselves up in narrow and miserable huts; and all this was considered as true piety, the only acceptable method of worshipping the deity, and rendering him propitious [*n*]. The greatest part of the Mystics were led into the absurdities of this extravagant discipline, not so much by the pretended force of reason and argument, as by a natural propensity to solitude, a gloomy and melancholy cast of mind, and an implicit and blind submission to the authority and examples of others. For the diseases of the mind, as well as those of the body, are generally contagious, and no pestilence spreads its infection with a more dreadful rapidity than superstition and enthusiasm. Several persons have committed to writing the precepts of this severe discipline, and reduced its absurdities into a sort of system, such as Julianus Pomerius among the Latins [*o*], and many among the Syrians, whose names it is needless to mention.

The superstition of the Stilites.

XII. Of all the instances of superstitious frenzy that disgraced this age, none was held in higher

[*n*] See the Pratum Spirituale of Moschus; the Lausiac History of Palladius; as also Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i.

[*o*] Pomerius wrote a treatise, De Vita Contemplativa, in which the doctrines and precepts of the Mystics were carefully collected.

veneration, or excited more the wonder of the multitude, than that of a certain order of men, who were called Stilites by the Greeks, and Sancti Columnaris, or Pillar Saints, by the Latins. These were persons of a most singular and extravagant turn of mind, who stood motionless upon the tops of pillars, expressly raised for this exercise of their patience, and remained there for several years, amidst the admiration and applause of the stupid populace. The inventor of this strange and ridiculous discipline was Simeon, a Syrian, who began his follies by changing the agreeable employment of a shepherd for the senseless austerities of the monkish life. But his enthusiasm carried him still greater lengths; for, in order to climb as near heaven as he could, he passed thirty-seven years of his wretched life upon five pillars, of six, twelve, twenty-two, thirty-six, and forty cubits high, and thus acquired a most shining reputation, and attracted the veneration of all about him [*p*]. Many of the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, seduced by a false ambition, and an utter ignorance of true religion, followed the example of this fanatic, though not with the same degree of austerity [*q*]. And what is almost incredible,

[*p*] See the Acta Sanctorum Mensis Januarii, tom. i. p. 261—277. where the reader will find the account we have given of this whimsical discipline. Theodoret, indeed, had before given several hints of it, alleging, among other things, that Simeon had gradually added to the height of his pillar, with a design to approach, by this means, nearer to heaven. See Tillemont Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. xv. p. 347. edit. Paris. See also the Acts of Simeon the Stylite, in Steph. Euodii Assemanni Actis Martyrum, Orient. et Occident. vol. ii. p. 227. published at Rome, in folio, in the year 1748.

[*q*] The learned Frederic Spanheim, in his Ecclesiastical History (p. 1154), speaks of a second Simeon the Stylite (mentioned by Evagrius Hist. lib. vi. cap. xxiii.) who lived

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this superstitious practice continued in vogue until the twelfth century, when, however, it was at length totally suppressed [r].

The Latins had too much wisdom and prudence to imitate the Syrians and Orientals in this whimsical superstition. And when a certain fanatic, or impostor, named Wulfilaicus, erected one of these pillars in the country of Treves, and proposed living upon it after the manner of Simeon, the neighbouring bishops ordered it to be pulled down, and thus nipped this species of superstition in the bud [s].

Further defects of the public instructors, and practical writers.

XIII. The Mystic rules of discipline and manners had a bad effect upon the moral writers, and those who were set apart for the instruction of Christians. Thus, in instructing the catechumens and others, they were more diligent and zealous in inculcating a regard for the external parts of religion, and an attachment to bodily exercise, than in forming the heart and the affections to inward piety and solid virtue. Nay, they went so far as to prescribe rules of sanctity and virtue, little different from the unnatural rigour and fanatical piety of the Mystics. Salvian, and other celebrated writers, gave it as their opinion, that none were truly and perfectly holy, but those who abandoned all riches and honours, abstained from matrimony, banished all joy and cheerful-

in the sixth century. This second fanatic seems to have carried his austerities still further than the chief of the sect: for he remained upon his pillar sixty-eight years, and from thence, like the first Simeon, he taught, or rather deluded the gazing multitude, declaimed against heresy, pretended to cast out devils, to heal diseases, and to foretel future events.

[r] See Urb. Godofr. Siberi Diss. de sanctis Columnaribus. Caroli Majelli Diss. de Stylitis, published in Assemanni Acta Martyr. Orient. et Occident. tom. ii. p. 246, where may be seen a copper-plate print of Simeon's pillar.

[s] Gregor. Turonens. Histor. Francor. lib. viii. cap. xv. p. 387.

ness from their hearts, and macerated their bodies with various sorts of torments and mortifications. And as all could not support such excessive degrees of severity, those madmen, or fanatics, whose robust constitutions and savage tempers were the best adapted to this kind of life, were distinguished by the public applause, and saw their influence and authority increase daily. And thus saints started up like mushrooms in almost every place.

The controversy between Jerome and Vigilantius.

XIV. A small number of ecclesiastics, animated by the laudable spirit of reformation, boldly attempted to pluck up the roots of this growing superstition, and to bring back the deluded multitude from this vain and chimerical discipline to the practice of solid and genuine piety. But the votaries of superstition who were superior in number, reputation, and authority, reduced them soon to silence, and rendered their noble and pious efforts utterly ineffectual [*t*]. We have an example of this in the case of Vigilantius, a man remarkable for his learning and eloquence, who was born in Gaul, and went from thence to Spain, where he performed the functions of a presbyter. This ecclesiastic, on his return from a voyage he had made into Palestine and Egypt, began, about the beginning of this century, to propagate several doctrines, and to publish repeated exhortations quite opposite to the opinions and manners of the times. Among other things, he denied that the tombs and the bones of the martyrs were to be honoured with any sort of homage or worship; and therefore censured the pilgrimages that were made to places that were reputed holy. He turned into derision the prodigies which were said to be wrought in the temples consecrated to martyrs, and condemned

[*t*] Augustin complains of this in his famous epistle to Januarius, No. 119.

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the custom of performing vigils in them. He asserted, and indeed with reason, that the custom of burning tapers at the tombs of the martyrs in broad day was imprudently borrowed from the ancient superstition of the pagans. He maintained, moreover, that prayers addressed to departed saints were void of all efficacy; and treated with contempt fasting and mortifications, the celibacy of the clergy, and the various austerities of the monastic life. And, finally, he affirmed that the conduct of those who, distributing their substance among the indigent, submitted to the hardships of a voluntary poverty, or sent a part of their treasures to Jerusalem for devout purposes, had nothing in it acceptable to the Deity.

There were among the Gallic and Spanish bishops several that relished the opinions of Vigilantius: But Jerome, the great monk of the age, assailed this bold reformer of religion with such bitterness and fury, that the honest presbyter soon found that nothing but his silence could preserve his life from the intemperate rage of bigotry and superstition. This project then of reforming the corruptions, which a fanatical and superstitious zeal had introduced into the church, was choked in its birth [*u*]. And the name of good Vigilantius remains still in the list of heretics, which is acknowledged as authentic by those who, without any regard to their own judgment, or the declarations of scripture, followed blindly the decisions of antiquity.

Disputes about Origenism.

XV. The controversies, which had been raised in Egypt, concerning Origen and his doctrine, towards the conclusion of the preceding century, were now renewed at Constantinople, and carried on without either decency or prudence. The Nitrian

[*u*] Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Vigilantius. Barbeyrac, De la Morale des Pères, p. 252. Gerhar. Jo. Vossius, Thesibus Historico-Theologicis, p. 170. Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 57.

monks, banished from Egypt, on account of their attachment to Origen, took refuge at Constantinople, and were treated by John Chrysostom, the bishop of that city, with clemency and benignity. This no sooner came to the knowledge of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, than he formed a perfidious project against the eloquent prelate; and sent the famous Epiphanius, with several other bishops, to Constantinople, to compass his fall, and deprive him of his episcopal dignity. No time could be more favourable for the execution of this project than that in which it was formed; for Chrysostom, by his austerity, and his vehement declamations against the vices of the people, and the corrupt manners of the ladies of the court, had incurred the displeasure of many, and had also excited, in a more particular manner, the resentment and indignation of the empress Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius. This violent princess sent for Theophilus and the Egyptian bishops, who, pursuant to her orders, repaired to Constantinople; and having called a council, inquired into the religious sentiments of Chrysostom, and examined his morals, and the whole course of his conduct and conversation, with the utmost severity. This council, which was held in the suburbs of Chalcedon, in the year 403, with Theophilus at its head, declared Chrysostom unworthy of his high rank in the church, on account of the favourable manner in which he stood disposed towards Origen and his followers; and, in consequence of this decree, condemned him to banishment. The people of Constantinople, who were tenderly attached to their pious and worthy bishop, rose in a tumultuous manner, and prevented the execution of this unrighteous sentence [*w*]. When this tumult was entirely hushed,

☞ [*w*] This is not quite exact: for it appears, by the

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the same unrelenting judges, in order to satisfy their vindictive rage, and that of Eudoxia, renewed their sentence the year following, under another pretext [x], and with more success; for the pious Chrysostom, yielding to the redoubled efforts of his enemies, was banished to Cucusus, a city of Cilicia, where he died about three years after [y].

The exile of this illustrious man was followed by a terrible sedition of the Johannists (so his votaries were called), which was calmed, though with much difficulty, by the edicts of Arcadius [z]. It is beyond all doubt, that the proceedings against Chrysostom were cruel and unjust; in this, however, he was to blame, that he assumed the authority and rank which had been granted by the council of Constantinople to the bishops of that imperial city, and set himself up as a judge of the controversy between Theophilus and the Egyptian monks, which the Alexandrian prelate could not behold without the utmost impatience and resentment. These monks, when they lost their protector, were restored to the favour of Theophilus; but the faction of the Origenists conti-

accounts of the best historians, that this sentence was really executed, and that the emperor confirmed the decree of this first synod, by banishing Chrysostom into Bithynia, or, as others allege, by ordering him to retire to the country. A violent earthquake and a terrible shower of hail, which were looked upon by the multitude as judgments occasioned by the unrighteous persecution of their pious bishop, alarmed the court, and engaged them to recal Chrysostom to his office.

☞ [x] This new pretext was the indecent manner in which Chrysostom is said to have declaimed against Eudoxia, on account of her having erected her statue in silver near the church.

[y] See Tillemont and Hermant, who have both written the life of Chrysostom; as also Bayle's Dictionary, in English, at the article Acacius.

[z] See Cyrilli Vitæ Sabæ in Cotelerii Monument. Eccles. Græc. tom. ii. p. 274. Jos. Sim. Assemani Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 31.

nued, notwithstanding all this, to flourish in Egypt, Syria, and the adjacent countries, and held their chief residence at Jerusalem. CENT. V. PART II.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

I. To enumerate the rites and institutions that were added, in this century, to the Christian worship, would require a volume of a considerable size. The acts of councils, and the records left us by the most celebrated ancient writers, are the sources from whence the curious may draw a satisfactory and particular account of this matter; and to these we refer such as are desirous of something more than a general view of the subject under consideration. Several of these ancient writers, uncorrupted by the contagious examples of the times in which they lived, have ingenuously acknowledged, that true piety and virtue were smothered, as it were, under that enormous burthen of ceremonies under which they lay groaning in this century. This evil was owing, partly to the ignorance and dishonesty of the clergy, partly to the calamities of the times, which were extremely unfavourable to the pursuit of knowledge and to the culture of the mind; and partly, indeed, to the natural depravity of imperfect mortals, who are much more disposed to worship with the eye than with the heart, and are more ready to offer to the Deity the laborious pomp of an outward service than the nobler, yet simple oblation of pious dispositions and holy affections. Ceremonies greatly multiplied.

II. Divine worship was now daily rising from one degree of pomp to another, and degenerating A general view of the new rites introduced at this time.

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more and more into a gaudy spectacle, only proper to attract the stupid admiration of a gazing populace. The sacerdotal garments were embellished with a variety of ornaments, with a view to excite in the minds of the multitude a greater veneration for the sacred order. New acts of devotion were also celebrated. In Gaul, particularly, the solemn prayers and supplications, which usually precede the anniversary of Christ's ascension, were now instituted for the first time [*a*]. In other places, perpetual acclamations of praise to God were performed both night and day by singers who succeeded each other, so as that the service suffered no interruption [*b*], as if the Supreme Being took pleasure in such noisy and turbulent shouting, or received any gratification from the blandishments of men. The riches and magnificence of the churches exceeded all bounds [*c*]. They were also adorned with costly images, among which, in consequence of the Nestorian controversy, that of the Virgin Mary, holding the child Jesus in her arms, obtained the first and principal place. The altars, and the chests in which the relics were preserved, were in most places made of solid silver. And from this we may easily imagine the splendor and expenses that were lavished upon the other utensils which were employed in the service of the church.

The feasts of charity.

III. On the other hand, the agapæ, or feasts of charity, were now suppressed on account of the abuses to which they gave occasion, amidst the daily decline of that piety and virtue which

[*a*] See Sidonius Apollinaris, Epist. lib. v. epist. xvi. lib. vi. epist. i.; as also Martene Thesaurus Anecdotorum, tom. v. p. 47.

[*b*] Gervais, Histoire de Suger, tom. i. p. 23.

[*c*] See Zacharias of Mitylene, De Opificio Mundi, p. 165, 166.

rendered these meetings useful and edifying in the primitive ages.

Penitents.

A new method also of proceeding with penitents was introduced into the Latin church. For grievous offenders, who had formerly been obliged to confess their guilt in the face of the congregation, were now delivered from this mortifying penalty, and obtained, from Leo the Great, a permission to confess their crimes privately to a priest appointed for that purpose. By this change of the ancient discipline, one of the greatest restraints upon licentiousness, and the only remaining barrier of chastity, was entirely removed, and the actions of Christians were subject to no other scrutiny than that of the clergy; a change, which was frequently convenient for the sinner, and also advantageous in many respects to the sacred order.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Dissensions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this Century.

Ancient heresies revived.

I. SEVERAL of those sects, which had divided the church in the preceding ages, renewed their efforts at this time, to propagate their respective opinions, and introduced new tumults and animosities among the Christians. We shall say nothing of the Novatians, Marcionites, and Manicheans, those inauspicious and fatal names, that disgrace the earlier annals of the church, though it is evident, that as yet their sects subsisted, and were even numerous in many places. We shall confine ourselves to an account of the Donatists and Arians, who were the pests of the preceding century.

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The Donatists.

The Donatists had hitherto maintained themselves with a successful obstinacy, and their affairs were in a good state. But, about the beginning of this century, the face of things changed much to their disadvantage, by the means of St. Augustin, bishop of Hippo. The catholic bishops of Africa, animated by the exhortations, and conducted by the counsels of this zealous prelate, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the destruction of this seditious sect, whom they justly looked upon, not only as troublesome to the church by their obstinacy, but also as a nuisance to the state by the brutal soldiery [*d*] which they employed in their cause. Accordingly deputies were sent, in the year 404, from the council of Carthage to the emperor Honorius, to request, that the laws enacted against heretics, by the preceding emperors, might have force against the Donatists, who denied that they belonged to the heretical tribe; and also to desire, that bounds might be set to the barbarous fury of the Circumcelliones. The first step that the emperor took, in consequence of this request, was to impose a fine upon all the Donatists who refused to return into the bosom of the church, and to send their bishops and doctors into banishment. The year following, new laws, much severer than the former, were enacted against this rebellious sect, under the title of Acts of Uniformity. And as the magistrates were remiss in the execution of them, the council of Carthage, in the year 407, sent a second time deputies to the emperor, to desire that certain persons might be appointed to execute these edicts with vigour and impartiality, and their request was granted.

II. The faction of the Donatists, though much broke by these repeated shocks, was yet far from

[*d*] The Circumcelliones already mentioned.

being totally extinguished. It recovered a part of its strength in the year 408, after Stilicho had been put to death by the order of Honorius, and gained a still further accession of vigour the year following, in which the emperor published a law in favour of liberty of conscience, and prohibited all compulsion in matters of religion. This law, however, was not of long duration. It was abrogated at the earnest and repeated solicitations of the council, which was held at Carthage in the year 410; and Marcellinus the tribune was sent by Honorius into Africa, with full power to bring to a conclusion this tedious and unhappy contest. Marcellinus, therefore, held at Carthage, in the year 411, a solemn conference, in which he examined the cause with much attention, heard the contending parties during the space of three days, and, at length, pronounced sentence in favour of the catholics [*e*]. The catholic bishops, who were present at this conference, were 286 in number; and those of the Donatists 279. The latter, upon their defeat, appealed to the emperor, but without effect. The glory of their defeat was due to Augustin, who bore the principal part in this controversy, and

[*e*] See Frank. Balduin. Hist. Collationis Carthag. in Optat. Milev. Pinian. p. 337. It is proper to observe here, that this meeting, held by Marcellinus, is very improperly termed a conference (*collatio*). For there was no dispute carried on at this meeting between the catholics and the Donatists; nor did any of the parties endeavour to gain or defeat the other by superiority of argument. This conference, then, was properly a judicial trial, in which Marcellinus was, by the emperor, appointed judge, or arbiter, of this religious controversy, and accordingly pronounced sentence after a proper hearing of the cause. It appears, therefore, from this event, that the notion of a supreme spiritual judge of controversy, and ruler of the church appointed by Christ, had not as yet entered into any one's head; since we see the African bishops themselves appealing to the emperor in the present religious question.

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who, indeed, by his writings, councils, and admonitions, governed almost the whole African church, and also the principal and most illustrious heads of that extensive province.

III. By this conference the party of the Donatists was greatly weakened; nor could they ever get the better of this terrible shock, though the face of affairs changed afterwards in a manner that was proper to revive their hopes. The greatest part of them, through the fear of punishment, submitted to the emperor's decree, and returned into the bosom of the church; while the severest penalties were inflicted upon those who remained obstinate, and persisted in their rebellion. Fines, banishment, confiscation of goods, were the ordinary punishments of the obstinate Donatists; and even the pain of death was inflicted upon such as surpassed the rest in perverseness, and were the seditious ringleaders of that stubborn faction. Some avoided these penalties by flight, others by concealing themselves, and some were so desperate as to seek deliverance by self-murder, to which the Donatists had a shocking propensity. In the mean time, the Circumcelliones used more violent methods of warding off the execution of the sentence that was pronounced against their sect; for they ran up and down through the province of Africa in the most outrageous manner, committing acts of cruelty every where, and defending themselves by force of arms.

The Donatists, indeed, recovered afterwards their former liberty and tranquillity by the succour and protection they received from the Vandals, who invaded Africa, with Genseric at their head, in the year 427, and took this province out of the hands of the Romans. The wound, however, that this sect had received from the vigorous execution of the imperial laws was so deep, that though they began to revive and multiply by

the assistance of the Vandals, yet they could never arrive at their former strength and lustre.

The state of the Arians.

IV. The Arians, oppressed and persecuted by the imperial edicts, took refuge among those fierce and savage nations who were gradually overturning the western empire, and found among the Goths, Suevi, Heruli, Vandals, and Burgundians, a fixed residence and a peaceful retreat. And as their security animated their courage, they treated the Catholics with the same violence which the latter had employed against them and other heretics; and they persecuted and vexed in various ways such as professed their adherence to the Nicene doctrines. The Vandals, who reigned in Africa, surpassed all the other savage nations in barbarity and injustice towards the Catholics. The kings of this fierce people, particularly Genseric, and Huneric his son, pulled down the churches of those Christians who acknowledged the divinity of Christ, sent their bishops into exile, and maimed and tormented in various ways such as were nobly firm and inflexible in the profession of their faith [*f*]. They, however, declared, that, in using these severe and violent methods, they were authorized by the example of the emperors, who had enacted laws of the same rigorous nature against the Donatists, the Arians, and other sects who differed in opinion from the Christians of Constantinople [*g*].

We must not here omit mentioning the stupendous miracle, which is said to have been wrought during these persecutions in Africa, and by which the Supreme Being is supposed to have declared his displeasure against the Arians, and his favour

[*f*] See Victor Vitens. lib. iii. De Persequutione Vandalica, which Theod. Ruinart published at Paris in the year 1694, in 8vo. with his History of the same persecution.

[*g*] See the edict of Huneric, in the history of Victor mentioned in the preceding note, lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 64.

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towards their adversaries. This miracle consisted in enabling those Catholics, whose tongues had been cut out by the Arian tyrant Huneric, to speak distinctly, and to proclaim aloud the divine majesty of the Saviour of the world. This remarkable fact can scarcely be denied, since it is supported by the testimony of the most credible and respectable witnesses [*h*];

☞ [*h*] These witnesses, who had themselves ocular demonstration of the fact, were Victor of Utica, Æneas of Gaza (who examined the mouths of the persons in question, and found that their tongues were entirely rooted out), Procopius, Marcellinus the count, and the emperor Justinian. Upon the authority of such respectable testimonies, the learned Abbadie formed a laboured and dexterous defence of the miraculous nature of this extraordinary fact, in his work intitled, La Triomphe de la Providence, &c. vol. iii. p. 255, &c. where all the fire of his zeal, and all the subtilty of his logic, seem to have been exhausted. Dr. Berryman, in his Historical Account of the Trinitarian Controversy, as also in his sermons preached at Lady Moyer's Lectures, in the year 1725, and Dr. Chapman, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, have maintained the same hypothesis. To the former, an answer was published by an anonymous writer, under the following title: "An Inquiry into the Miracle said to have been wrought in the Fifth Century, upon some orthodox Christians, in Favour of the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c. in a Letter to a Friend." We may venture to say, that this answer is utterly unsatisfactory. The author of it, after having laboured to invalidate the testimony alleged in favour of the fact, seems himself scarcely convinced by his own arguments; for he acknowledges at last the possibility of the event, but persists in denying the miracle, and supposes, that the cruel operation was so imperfectly performed upon these confessors, as to leave in some of them such a share of that organ as was sufficient for the use of speech. Dr. Middleton (to whom some have attributed the forementioned Answer) maintains the same hypothesis, in his Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, &c. supposing, that the tongues of the persons in question were not entirely rooted out, which he corroborates by the following consideration, that two of the sufferers are said to have utterly lost the faculty of speaking. For though this be ascribed to a peculiar judgment of God punishing the immoralities of which they were afterwards guilty, yet this appears to the doctor to be a forced and improbable solution of the matter, who imagines

but whether it is to be attributed to a supernatural and miraculous power, is a matter not

he solves it better by supposing that they had not been deprived of their entire tongues. He goes yet further, and produces two cases from the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, which prove, in his opinion, "That this pretended miracle owed its whole credit to our ignorance of the powers of nature." The first is, that of "a girl born without a tongue, who yet talked as easily and distinctly as if she had enjoyed the full benefit of that organ;" and the second, that of "a boy, who, at the age of eight or nine years, lost his tongue by a gangrene, or ulcer, and yet retained the faculty of speaking." See Middleton's Free Inquiry, &c. p. 183, 184.

This reasoning of the sceptical doctor of divinity appeared superficial and unsatisfactory to the judicious Mr. Dodwell, who (saying nothing about the case of the two Trinitarians who remained dumb, after their tongues were cut out, and whose dumbness is but indifferently accounted for by their immorality, since gifts have been often possessed without graces) confines himself to the consideration of the two parallel facts drawn from the Academical Memoirs already mentioned. To show that these facts prove little or nothing against the miracle in question, he justly observes, that though in one or two particular cases a mouth may be so singularly formed as to utter articulate sounds, without the usual instrument of speech (some excrescence probably supplying the defect), yet it cannot be any thing less than miraculous, that this should happen to a considerable number of persons, whose tongues were cut out to prevent their preaching a discountenanced doctrine. To deny the miracle in question, we must maintain, that it is as easy to speak without a tongue as with it. See Mr. Dodwell's Free Answer to Dr. Middleton's Free Inquiry, &c. p. 96, 97, &c.

Mr. Toll, who defended Middleton's hypothesis, has proposed an objection, *à priori*, as it may be justly called, against the truth of this miracle. He observes that the occasion on which it was wrought was not of sufficient consequence or necessity to require a divine interposition; for it was not wrought to convert infidels to Christianity, but to bring over the followers of Arius to the Athanasian faith; it was wrought, in a word, for the explication of a doctrine, which both sides allowed to be founded in the New Testament. Now, as the Holy Scriptures are a revelation of the will of God, "it seems (says Mr. Toll) to cast a reflection on his wisdom, as if he did things by halves, to suppose it necessary for him to work miracles, in order to ascertain the sense of those scriptures. This (continues he) would be multiplying miracles to an in-

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so easily decided, and which admits of much dispute [*i*].

finite degree;—besides, it would destroy the universal truth of that proposition from which we cannot depart, namely, 'That the scriptures are sufficiently plain in all things necessary to salvation.'" See Mr. Toll's Defence of Dr. Middleton's Free Inquiry against Mr. Dodwell's Free Answer, p. 81, 82. To this specious objection Mr. Dodwell replies, that on the doctrine in dispute between the Arians and the Orthodox, depend the true notion, as well as the importance and reality of our salvation; that the doctrines, duties, and motives of Christianity are exalted or debased, as we embrace the one or the other of those systems; that on the *divinity* of Christ the meritoriousness of the propitiation offered by him must entirely rest; and that, therefore, no occasion of greater consequence can be assigned on which a miracle might be expected. He adds, that the disputes which men have raised about certain doctrines are no proof that these doctrines are not plainly revealed in scripture, seeing this would prove that no truth is there sufficiently revealed, because, at one time or other, they have been all disputed; and he observes, judiciously, that the expediency of interposing by miracles is what we are not always competent judges of, since God only knows the times, seasons, and occasions, in which it is proper to alter the usual course of nature, in order to maintain the truth, to support the oppressed, and to carry on the great purposes of his gospel kingdom. It is enough, that the present interposition be not incredible to remove Mr. Toll's objection, without considering its particular use, and the unexceptionable manner in which it is attested. See Mr. Dodwell's Full and final Reply to Mr. Toll's Defence, &c. p. 270, 271.

We must observe here, that this latter objection and answer are merely hypothetical, *i. e.* they draw their force only from the different opinions which the ingenious Mr. Toll and his learned antagonist entertain concerning the importance of the doctrine, in favour of which this pretended miracle is said to have been wrought. The grand question, whose decision alone can finish this controversy, is, whether the tongues of these African confessors were entirely rooted out, or no: The case of the two who remained dumb furnishes a shrewd presumption, that the cruel operation was not equally performed upon all. The immorality of these two, and the judgment of God, suspending with respect to them the in-

[*i*] See Ruinarti Histor. Persequut. Vandal. part II. cap. vii. p. 482. See Bibliotheque Britannique, tom. iii. part II. p. 339. tom. v. part I. p. 171.

The rise of Nestorianism.

V. A new sect, which was the source of most fatal and deplorable divisions in the Christian church, was formed by Nestorius, a Syrian bishop of Constantinople, a disciple of the celebrated Theodore of Mopsuestia, and a man remarkable for his learning and eloquence, which were, however, accompanied with much levity, and with intolerable arrogance. Before we enter into a particular account of the doctrine of this sectary, it is proper to observe, that though, by the decrees of former councils, it had been clearly and peremptorily determined, that Christ was, at the same time, true God and true man; yet no council had hitherto decreed any thing concerning the manner and effect of this union of the two natures in the divine Saviour; nor was this matter, as yet, become a subject either of inquiry or dispute among Christians. The consequence of this was, that the Christian doctors expressed themselves differently concerning this mystery. Some used such forms of expression as seemed to widen the difference between the Son of God and the son of man, and thus to divide the nature of Christ into two distinct persons. Others, on the contrary, seemed to confound too much the Son of God with the son of man; and to suppose the nature of Christ composed of his divinity and humanity blended together into one.

The heresy of Apollinaris had given occasion to these different ways of speaking. For he maintained that the man Christ was not endowed with a human soul, but with the divine nature, which was substituted in its place, and performed its functions; and this doctrine manifestly supposed a confusion of the two natures in the Mes-

fluence of the miracle, do not solve this difficulty entirely, since (as we observed above) many have been possessed of supernatural gifts without graces; and Christ tells us, that many have 'cast out devils in his name,' whom at the last day he will not acknowledge as his faithful servants.

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siah. The Syrian doctors, therefore, that they might avoid the errors of Apollinaris, and exclude his followers from the communion of the church, were careful in establishing an accurate distinction between the divine and the human nature in the Son of God; and for this purpose they used such forms of expression as seemed to favour the notion of Christ's being composed of two distinct persons. The manner of speaking, adopted by the Alexandrians and Egyptians, had a different tendency, and seemed to countenance the doctrine of Apollinaris, and by a confusion of the two natures, to blend them into one. Nestorius, who was a Syrian, and had adopted the sentiments of the doctors of his nation, was a violent enemy to all the sects, but to none so much as to the Apollinarian faction, after whose ruin he breathed with an ardent and an inextinguishable zeal. He therefore discoursed concerning the two natures in Christ after the Syrian manner, and commanded his disciples to distinguish carefully between the actions and perceptions [*k*] of the Son of God, and those of the son of man [*l*].

The occasion of the Nestorian controversy.

VI. The occasion of this disagreeable controversy was furnished by the Presbyter Anastasius, a friend of Nestorius. This presbyter, in a public discourse, delivered A. D. 428, declaimed

[*k*] The original word perpessio, which signifies properly suffering or passion, we have here translated by the general term perception, because suffering or passion cannot be, in any sense, attributed to the divine nature.

[*l*] The Jesuit Doucin published at Paris, A. D. 1716, A History of Nestorianism: but it is such a history as might be expected from a writer, who was obliged, by his profession, to place the arrogant Cyril among the saints, and Nestorius among the heretics. The ancient writers, on both sides of this controversy, are mentioned by Jo. Franc. Buddæus, in his Isagoge in Theologiam, tom. ii. p. 1084. The accounts given of this dispute by the Oriental writers are collected by Euseb. Renaudot, in his Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 108. and by J. Sim. Assemannus, in his Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 67.

warmly against the title of Θεοτοκος, or mother of God, which was now more frequently attributed to the Virgin Mary, in the controversy against the Arians, than it had formerly been, and was a favourite term with the followers of Apollinaris. He, at the same time, gave it as his opinion, that the Holy Virgin was rather to be called Χριστοτοκος, i. e. mother of Christ, since the Deity can neither be born nor die, and, of consequence, the son of man alone could derive his birth from an earthly parent. Nestorius applauded these sentiments, and explained and defended them in several discourses [*m*]. But both he and his friend Anastasius were keenly opposed by certain monks at Constantinople, who maintained that the son of Mary was God incarnate, and excited the zeal and fury of the populace to maintain this doctrine against Nestorius. Notwithstanding all this, the discourses of the latter were extremely well received in many places, and had the majority on their side. The Egyptian monks had no sooner perused them, than they were persuaded, by the weight of the arguments they contained, to embrace the opinions of Nestorius, and accordingly ceased to call the Blessed Virgin the mother of God.

Nestorius and Cyril reciprocally anathematized by each other.

VII. The Prelate, who ruled the see of Alexandria at this time, was Cyril, a man of a haughty, turbulent, and imperious temper, and painfully jealous of the rising power and authority of the bishop of Constantinople. As soon as this controversy came to his knowledge, he censured the Egyptian monks and Nestorius; and, finding the latter little disposed to submit to his censure, he proceeded to violent measures, took counsel with Celestine, bishop of Rome, whom

[*m*] See Harduini Concilia, tom. i. p. 2199. See also Jos. Sim. Assemannus, Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 199.

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he had engaged on his side, assembled a council at Alexandria, A. D. 430, and hurled no less than twelve anathemas at the head of Nestorius. The thunderstruck prelate did not sink under this violent shock; but, seeing himself unjustly accused of derogating from the majesty of Christ, he retorted the same accusation upon his adversary, charged him with the Apollinarian heresy, with confounding the two natures in Christ, and loaded Cyril with as many anathemas as he had received from him. This unhappy contest between two bishops of the first order, proceeded rather from corrupt motives of jealousy and ambition, than from a sincere and disinterested zeal for the truth, and was the source of evils and calamities without number.

The council of Ephesus.

VIII. When the spirits were so exasperated on both sides, by reciprocal excommunications and polemic writings, that there was no prospect of an amicable issue to this unintelligible controversy, Theodosius the younger called a council at Ephesus, A. D. 431, which was the third general council in the annals of the church. In this council Cyril presided, though he was the party concerned, and the avowed enemy of Nestorius; and he proposed examining and determining the matter in debate before John of Antioch and the other eastern bishops arrived. Nestorius objected against this proceeding, as irregular and unjust; but his remonstrances being without effect, he refused to comply with the summons which called him to appear before the council. Cyril, on the other hand, pushing on matters with a lawless violence, Nestorius was judged without being heard; and, during the absence of a great number of those bishops who belonged to the council, he was compared with the traitor Judas, charged with blasphemy against the divine majesty, deprived of his episcopal dignity,

and sent into exile, where he finished his days [*n*]. The transactions of this council will appear to the candid and equitable reader in the most unfavourable light, as full of low artifice, contrary to all the rules of justice, and even destitute of the least air of common decency. The doctrine, however, that was established in it concerning Christ, was that which has been always acknowledged and adopted by the majority of Christians, viz. "That Christ was one divine person, in whom two natures were most closely and intimately united, but without being mixed or confounded together."

IX. Nestorius, among other accusations of less moment, was charged with dividing the nature of Christ into two distinct persons, and with having maintained, that the divine nature was superadded to the human nature of Jesus, after it was formed, and was no more than an auxiliary support to the man Christ, through the whole of his life. Nestorius denied this charge even to the last, and solemnly professed his entire disapprobation of this doctrine [*o*]. Nor indeed

The judgment which the impartial will form concerning this controversy.

[*n*] Those that desire a more ample account of this council may consult the Variorum Patrum Epistolæ ad Concilium Ephesinum pertinentes, published at Louvain in the year 1682, from some Vatican and other manuscripts, by Christian Lupus. Nestorius, in consequence of the sentence pronounced against him in this council, was first banished to Petra in Arabia, and afterwards to Oasis, a solitary place in the deserts of Egypt, where he died in the year 435. The accounts given of his tragical death by Evagrius, in his Eccl. Hist. lib. i. cap. vii. and by Theodorus the reader, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. p. 565. are entirely fabulous. ☞ Dr. Mosheim's account of the time of Nestorius' death is perhaps unexact; for it appears that Nestorius was at Oasis when Socrates wrote, that is, A. D. 439. See Socrat. lib. vii. cap. xxxiv.

[*o*] See Garnier's edition of the works of Marius Mercator, tom. ii. p. 286. See also the fragments of those letters which Nestorius wrote some time before his death, which are to be

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was this opinion ever proposed by him in any of his writings, but was only charged upon him by his iniquitous adversaries, as a consequence drawn from some incautious and ambiguous terms he used, and particularly from his refusing to call the Virgin Mary the Mother of God [*p*]. Hence many, nay, the greatest part of writers, both ancient and modern, after a thorough examination of this matter, have positively concluded, that the opinions of Nestorius, and the council which condemned them, were the same in effect; that their difference was in words only, and that the whole blame of this unhappy controversy was to be charged upon the turbulent spirit of Cyril, and his aversion to Nestorius [*q*].

This judgment may be just upon the whole; but it is, however, true, that Nestorius committed two faults in the course of this controversy. The first was, his giving offence to many Christians by

found in Jos. Sim. Asseman. Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 40, 41.

☞ [*q*] It is remarkable, that Cyril would not hear the explanations which Nestorius offered to give of his doctrine. Nay, the latter offered to grant the title of Mother of God to the Virgin Mary, provided that nothing else was thereby meant, but that the man born of her was united to the divinity. See Socrat. lib. vii. cap. xxxiv.

[*q*] Luther was the first of the modern writers who thought thus. And he inveighed against Cyril, with the greatest bitterness, in his book De Conciliis, tom. viii. opp. Altenb. p. 265, 266, 273. See also Bayle's Dictionary, at the articles Nestorius and Rodon. Christ. August. Salig, De Eutychianismo ante Eutychen, p. 200. Otto Frid. Schutzius, De Vita Chytræi, lib. ii. cap. xxix. p. 190, 191. Jo. Voigt. Biblioth. Historiæ Hæresiologiæ, tom. i. part III. p. 457. Paul Ernest. Jablonsky, Exerc. de Nestorianismo, published at Berlin, A. D. 1720. Thesaur. Epistolic. Crozianus, tom. i. p. 184. tom. iii. p. 175. La Vie de la Croze, par Jordan, p. 231, and many others. As to the faults that have been laid to the charge of Nestorius, they are collected by Asseman, in his Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 210.

abrogating a trite and innocent term [r]; and the second, his presumptuously attempting to explain, by uncouth comparisons and improper expressions, a mystery which infinitely surpasses the extent of our imperfect reason. If to these defects we add the despotic spirit, and the excessive warmth of this persecuted prelate, it will be difficult to decide who is most to be blamed, as the principal fomenter of this violent contest, Cyril or Nestorius [s].

The progress of Nestorianism after the council of Ephesus.

X. The council of Ephesus, instead of healing these divisions, did but inflame them more and more, and almost destroyed all hope of restoring concord and tranquillity in the church. John of Antioch, and the other eastern bishops, for whose arrival Cyril had refused to wait, met at Ephesus, and pronounced against him and Memnon, the bishop of that city, who was his creature, as severe a sentence as they had thundered against Nestorius. Hence arose a new and obstinate dissension between Cyril and the Orientals, with John the bishop of Antioch at their head. This flame was indeed somewhat abated, A. D. 433, after Cyril had received the Articles of Faith drawn up by John, and abandoned certain phrases

☞ [r] The title of Mother of God, applied to the Virgin Mary, is not perhaps so innocent as Dr. Mosheim takes it to be. To the judicious and learned it can present no idea at all, and to the ignorant and unwary it may present the most absurd and monstrous notions. The invention and use of such mysterious terms, as have no place in scripture, are undoubtedly pernicious to true religion.

☞ [s] There is no difficulty at all in deciding this question. Nestorius, though possessed of an arrogant and persecuting spirit in general, yet does not seem to deserve, in this particular case, the reproaches that are due to Cyril. Anastasius, and not Nestorius, was the first who kindled the flame; and Nestorius was the suffering and persecuted party from the beginning of the controversy to his death. His offers of accommodation were refused, his explanations were not read, his submission was rejected, and he was condemned unheard.

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and expressions, of which the litigious might make a pernicious use. But the commotions which arose from this fatal controversy were more durable in the east [*t*]. Nothing could oppose the progress of Nestorianism in those parts. The disciples and friends of the persecuted prelate carried his doctrine through all the Oriental provinces, and erected every where congregations which professed an invincible opposition to the decrees of the council of Ephesus. The Persians among others, opposed Cyril in the most vigorous manner, maintained that Nestorius had been unjustly condemned at Ephesus, and charged Cyril with removing that distinction which subsists between the two natures in Christ. But nothing tended so much to propagate with rapidity the doctrine of Nestorius, as its being received in the famous school which had for a long time flourished at Edessa. For the doctors of this renowned academy not only instructed the youth in the Nestorian tenets, but translated from the Greek into the Syriac language the books of Nestorius, of his master Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and the writings also of Diodorus of Tarsus, and spread them abroad throughout Assyria and Persia [*u*].

Barsumas, a zealous promoter of Nestorianism.

XI. Of all the promoters of the Nestorian cause, there was none to whom it has such weighty obligations as to the famous Barsumas, who was ejected out of his place, in the school of Edessa, and created bishop of Nisibis, A. D. 435. This zealous prelate laboured with incredible assiduity

[*t*] See Christ. Aug. Salig, De Eutychianismo ante Eutychem, p. 243.

[*u*] See Jos. Simon. Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatican. tom. i. p. 351. tom. iii. part II. p. 69. This learned author may be advantageously used to correct what Eusebius Renaud has said (in the second tome of his Liturgiæ Orientales, p. 99.) concerning the first rise of the Nestorian doctrine in the eastern provinces. See also the Ecclesiastical History of Theodorus the Reader, book ii. p. 558.

and dexterity, from the year 440 to 485, to procure for the Nestorians a solid and permanent settlement in Persia; and he was vigorously seconded in this undertaking by Manes bishop of Ardascira. So remarkable was the success which crowned the labours of Barsumas, that his fame extended throughout the east; and the Nestorians, which still remain in Chaldæa, Persia, Assyria, and the adjacent countries, consider him alone, and not without reason, as their parent and founder. This indefatigable ecclesiastic not only persuaded Pherozes, the Persian monarch, to expel out of his dominions such Christians as had adopted the opinions of the Greeks, and to admit the Nestorians in their place, but he even engaged him to put the latter in possession of the principal seat of ecclesiastical authority in Persia, the see of Seleucia, which the Patriarch, or Catholic of the Nestorians, has always filled even down to our time [*w*]. The zeal and activity of Barsumas did not end here: he erected a famous school at Nisibis, from whence issued those Nestorian doctors, who in this and the following century, spread abroad their tenets through Egypt, Syria, Arabia, India, Tartary, and China [*x*].

XII. The Nestorians, before their affairs were thus happily settled, had been divided among themselves with respect to the method of explain- The divisions of the Nestorians cease.

☞ [*w*] The bishop of Seleucia was, by the twenty-third canon of the council of Nice, honoured with peculiar marks of distinction, and among others with the title of Catholic. He was invested with the power of ordaining archbishops (a privilege which belonged to the patriarchs alone), exalted above all the Grecian bishops, honoured as a patriarch, and in the œcumenical councils was the sixth in rank after the bishop of Jerusalem. See Acta Concilii Nicæni Arab. Alphons. Pisan. lib. iii. cap. xxiii. xxxiv.

[*x*] See, for an ample account of this matter, Jos. Sim. Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 77.

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ing their doctrine. Some maintained, that the manner in which the two natures were united in Christ was absolutely unknown; others, that the union of the divine nature with the man Jesus was only an union of will, operation, and dignity [*y*]. This dissension, however, entirely ceased when the Nestorians were gathered together into one religious community, and lived in tranquillity under their own ecclesiastical government and laws. Their doctrine, as it was then determined in several councils assembled at Seleucia, amounts to what follows: "That in the Saviour of the world there were *two persons, or* ὑποστάσεις; of which the one was divine, even the eternal Word; and the other, which was human, was the man Jesus; that these two persons had only one *aspect* [*z*]; that the union between the Son of God and the son of man was formed in the moment of the Virgin's conception, and was never to be dissolved; that it was not, however, an union of nature or of person, but only of will and affection; that Christ was, therefore, to be carefully distinguished from God, who dwelt in him as in his temple; and that Mary was to be called the mother of Christ, and not the mother of God."

The abettors of this doctrine hold Nestorius in the highest veneration, as a man of singular and eminent sanctity, and worthy to be had in perpetual remembrance: but they maintain, at the same time, that the doctrine he taught was much

[*y*] Leontius Byzant. adversus Nestorian. et Eutychian. p. 537. tom. i. Lection. Antiquar. Henr. Canisii. Jac. Basnag. Prolegomen. ad Canisium, tom. i. cap. ii. p. 19.

☞ [*z*] This is the only way I know of translating the word *barsopa*, which was the term used by Nestorius, and which the Greeks render by the term προσωπον. The word *person* would have done better in this unintelligible phrase, had it not been used immediately before in a different sense from that which Nestorius would convey by the obscure term *aspect*.

older than himself, and had been handed down from the earliest times of the Christian church; and for this reason they absolutely refused the title of Nestorians. And, indeed, if we examine the matter attentively, we shall find, that Barsumas and his followers, instead of teaching their disciples precisely the doctrine of Nestorius, rather polished and improved his uncouth system to their own taste, and added to it several tenets of which the good man never dreamt.

The Eutychian sect.

XIII. A violent aversion to the Nestorian errors led many into the opposite extreme. This was the case with the famous Eutyches, abbot of a certain convent of monks at Constantinople, and founder of a sect, which was in direct opposition to that of Nestorius, yet equally prejudicial to the interests of the Christian church, by the pestilential discords and animosities it produced. The opinions of this new faction shot like lightning through the east; and it acquired such strength in its progress, as to create much uneasiness both to the Greeks and Nestorians, whose most vigorous efforts were not sufficient to prevent its rising to a high degree of credit and splendor. Eutyches began these troubles, A. D. 448, when he was far advanced in years; and to exert his utmost force and vehemence in opposing the progress of the Nestorian doctrine, he expressed his sentiments concerning the person of Christ in the very terms which the Egyptians made use of for that purpose, and taught, that in Christ there was but one nature, viz. that of the incarnate word [*a*]. Hence he was thought to

[*a*] That Cyril expressed himself in this manner, and appealed, for his justification in so doing, to the authority of Athanasius, is evident beyond all possibility of contradiction. But it is uncertain whether or no this manner of expression was adopted by Athanasius, since many are of

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deny the existence of the human nature in Christ, and was accused of this, by Eusebius of Dorylæum, in the council that was assembled by Flavianus at Constantinople, probably this same year. By a decree of this council he was ordered to renounce the above-mentioned opinion, which he obstinately refused to do, and was, on that account, excommunicated and deposed; little disposed, however, to acquiesce in this sentence, he appealed to the decision of a general council.

The council which was called Conventus Latronum.

XIV. In consequence of this appeal, the emperor Theodosius assembled an œcumenical council at Ephesus, A. D. 449, at the head of which he placed Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, the successor of Cyril, the faithful imitator of his arrogance and fury, and a declared enemy to the bishop of Constantinople. Accordingly, by the influence and caballing of this turbulent man, matters were carried on in this council with the same want of equity and decency that had dishonoured a former Ephesian council, and characterized the proceedings of Cyril against Nestorius. For Dioscorus, in whose church a doctrine almost the same with that of the Eutychians was constantly taught, confounded matters with such artifice and dexterity, that the doctrine of one incarnate nature triumphed, and Eutyches was acquitted of the charge of error that had been brought against him. Flavianus, on the other

opinion, that the book in which it is found, has been falsely attributed to him. See Mich. Le Quien Dissert. ii. in Damascenum, p. 31. Christ. Aug. Salig, De Eutychianismo ante Eutychen, p. 112. It appears, by what we read in the Biblioth. Oriental. &c. of Assem. tom. i. p. 219, that the Syrians expressed themselves in this manner before Eutyches, though without designing thereby to breach any new doctrine, but rather without well knowing what they said. We stand yet in need of a solid and accurate history of the Eutychian troubles; notwithstanding the labours of the learned Salig upon that subject.

hand, was, by the order of this unrighteous council, publicly scourged in the most barbarous manner, and banished to Epipas, a city of Lydia, where soon after he ended his days [*b*]. The Grecks called this Ephesian council, a band, or assembly of robbers, συνοδον λῃστρικην, to signify that every thing was carried in it by fraud or violence [*c*]. And many councils, indeed, both in this and the following ages, are equally entitled to the same dishonourable appellation.

The council of Chalcedon.

XV. The face of affairs soon changed, and assumed an aspect utterly unfavourable to the party whom the Ephesian council had rendered triumphant. Flavianus and his followers not only engaged Leo the Great, bishop of Rome, in their interests (for the Roman pontiff was the ordinary refuge of the oppressed and conquered party in this century), but also remonstrated to the emperor, that a matter of such an arduous and important nature required, in order to its decision, a council composed out of the church universal. Leo seconded this latter request, demanded of Theodosius a general council, which no entreaties could persuade this emperor to grant. Upon his death, however, his successor Marcian consented to Leo's demand, and called, in the year 451, the council of Chalcedon (*d*), which is reckoned the fourth general or œcumenical council.

[*b*] See the Concilia Jo. Harduini, tom. i. p. 82. Liberati Breviarium, cap. xii. p. 76. Leonis M. Epist. xciii. p. 625. Nicephori Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. xiv. cap. lxvii. p. 550, &c.

[*c*] Though Flavianus died soon after the council of Ephesus, of the bruises he had received from Dioscorus and the other bishops of his party in that horrid assembly, yet, before his death, he had appealed to Leo; and this appeal, pursued by Leo, occasioned the council, in which Eutyches was condemned, and the bloody Dioscorus deposed.

[*d*] This council was, by the emperor's summons, first assembled at Nice, but afterwards removed to Chalcedon;

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The legates of Leo, who, in his famous letter to Flavianus, had already condemned the Eutychian doctrine, presided in this grand and crowded assembly. Dioscorus was condemned, deposed, and banished into Paphlagonia, the acts of the council of Ephesus were annulled, the epistle of Leo received as a rule of faith [*e*]; Eutyches, who had been already sent into banishment, and deprived of his sacerdotal dignity by the emperor, was now condemned, though absent; and the following doctrine, which is at this time almost generally received, was inculcated upon Christians as the object of faith, viz. "That in Christ two distinct natures were united in one person, and that without any change, mixture, or confusion."

Warm contests succeed the council of Chalcedon.

XVI. The remedy applied by this council, to heal the wounds of a torn and divided church, proved really worse than the disease. For a great number of Oriental and Egyptian doctors, though of various characters and different opinions in other respects, united in opposing, with the utmost vehemence, the council of Chalcedon and the epistle of Leo, which it had adopted as a rule of faith, and were unanimous in maintaining an unity of nature, as well as of person, in Jesus Christ. Hence arose deplorable discords and civil wars, whose fury and barbarity were carried

that the emperor, who, on account of the irruption of the Huns into Illyricum, was unwilling to go far from Constantinople, might assist at it in person.

☞ [*e*] This was the letter which Leo had written to Flavianus, after having been informed by him of what had passed in the council of Constantinople. In this epistle, Leo approves of the decisions of that council, declares the doctrine of Eutyches heretical and impious, explains, with great appearance of perspicuity, the doctrine of the Catholic church upon this perplexed subject; so that this letter was esteemed a masterpiece both of logic and eloquence, and was constantly read, during the Advent, in the western churches.

to the most excessive and incredible lengths. Upon the death of the emperor Marcian, the populace assembled tumultuously in Egypt, massacred Proterius, the successor of Dioscorus, and substituted in his place Timotheus Ælurus, who was a zealous defender of the Eutychian doctrine of one incarnate nature in Christ. This latter, indeed, was deposed and banished by the emperor Leo; but, upon his death, was restored by Basilicus both to his liberty and episcopal dignity. After the death of Ælurus, the defenders of the council of Chalcedon chose in his place, Timotheus, surnamed Salophaciolus, while the partisans of the Eutychian doctrine of the one nature, elected schismatically Peter Moggus to the same dignity. An edict of the emperor Zeno obliged the latter to yield. The triumph, however, of the Chalcedonians on this occasion was but transitory; for, upon the death of Timotheus, John Talaia, whom they had chosen in his place, was removed by the same emperor [*f*]; and Moggus, or Mongus, by an imperial edict, and the favour of Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, was, in the year 482, raised to the see of Alexandria.

Contests in Syria and Armenia.

XVII. The abbot Barsumas (whom the reader must be careful not to confound with Barsumas of Nisibis, the famous promoter of the Nestorian doctrines) having been condemned by the council of Chalcedon [*g*], brought the Eutychian opinions into Syria, and, by the ministry of his disciple

[*f*] See Liberati Breviarium, cap. xvi. xvii. xviii. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. viii. lib. iii. cap. iii. Lequien, Oriens Christianus, tom. ii. p. 410.

[*g*] The Barsumas, here mentioned, was he who assisted the bishop of Alexandria (Dioscorus) and the soldiers, in beating Flavianus to death in the council of Ephesus, and to shun whose fury, the orthodox bishops were forced to creep into holes, and hide themselves under benches, in that pious assembly.

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Samuel, spread them amongst the Armenians about the year 460. This doctrine, however, as it was commonly explained, had something so harsh and shocking in it, that the Syrians were easily engaged to abandon it by the exhortations of Xenaias, otherwise called Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, and the famous Peter Fullo. These doctors rejected the opinion, attributed to Eutyches, that the human nature of Christ was absorbed by the divine (*h*), and modified matters so as to form the following hypothesis; "That in the Son of God there was one nature, which, notwithstanding its unity, was double and compounded." This notion was not less repugnant to the decisions of the council of Chalcedon than the Eutychian doctrine, and was therefore stedfastly opposed by those who acknowledged the authority of that council (*i*).

The troubles excited by Peter the Fuller.

XVIII. Peter, surnamed Fullo, from the trade of a fuller, which he exercised in his monastic state, had usurped the see of Antioch, and, after having been several times deposed and condemned on account of the bitterness of his opposition to the council of Chalcedon, was fixed in it, at last, A. D. 482, by the authority of the emperor Zeno, and the favour of Acacius, bishop of Constantinople (*k*). This troublesome and con-

☞ [*h*] Eutyches never affirmed what is here attributed to him; he maintained simply, that the two natures, which existed in Christ before his incarnation, became one after it, by the hypostatical union. This miserable dispute about words was nourished by the contending parties having no clear ideas of the terms person and nature; as also by an invincible ignorance of the subject in dispute.

[*i*] J. Sim. Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. Vat. tom. ii. p. 1—10. See also the Dissertation of this author, De Monophysitis, which is prefixed to this volume.

[*k*] Valesii Dissertatio de Pet. Fullone, et de Synodis adversus eum collectis, which is added to the third volume of the Scriptor. Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 173.

tentious man excited new discords in the church, and seemed ambitious of forming a new sect under the name of Theopaschites [*l*]; for to the words, "O God, most holy," &c. in the famous hymn which the Greeks called Trisagium, he ordered the following phrase to be added in the eastern churches, "who hast suffered for us upon the cross." His design in this was manifestly to raise a new sect, and also to fix more deeply in the minds of the people, the doctrine of one nature in Christ, to which he was zealously attached. His adversaries, and especially Felix, the Roman pontiff, interpreted this addition to the hymn above-mentioned in a quite different manner, and charged him with maintaining, that all the three persons of the Godhead were crucified: and hence those who approved of his addition were called Theopaschites. The consequence of this dispute was, that the western Christians rejected the addition inserted by Fullo, which they judged relative to the whole Trinity; while the Orientals used it constantly after this period, and that without giving the least offence, because they applied it to Christ alone [*m*].

The Henoticon of Zeno.

XIX. To put an end to this controversy, which had produced the most unhappy divisions, both in church and state, the emperor Zeno, by the advice of Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, published, A. D. 482, the famous Henoticon, or decree of union, which was designed to reconcile the contending parties. This decree repeated and confirmed all that had been enacted in the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chal-

[*l*] This word expresses the enormous error of those frantic doctors, who imagined that the Godhead suffered in and with Christ.

[*m*] See Noris, Lib. de Uno ex Trinitate Carne Passo, tom. iii. opp. Diss. i. cap. iii. p. 782. Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. i. p. 518. tom. ii. p. 36. 180.

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cedon, against the Arians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, without making any particular mention of the council of Chalcedon [*n*]. For Acacius had persuaded the emperor, that the present opposition was not carried on against the decrees that had passed in the council of Chalcedon, but against the council itself; with respect to which, therefore, an entire silence was undoubtedly prudent in a proposal, which, instead of reviving, was designed to put an end to all disputes, and to reconcile the most jarring principles.

In the mean time, Mongus and Fullo, who filled the sees of Alexandria and Antioch, and headed the sect of the Monophysites [*o*], subscribed this decree of union, which was also approved by Acacius of Constantinople, and by all those of the two contending parties who were at all remarkable for their candour and moderation. But there were on all sides violent and obstinate bigots, who opposed, with vigour, these pacific measures, and complained of the Henoticon as injurious to the honour and authority of the most holy council of Chalcedon [*p*]. Hence arose new contests and new divisions, not less deplorable than those which the decree of union was designed to suppress.

Produces new contests among the Eutychians.

XX. A considerable body of the Monophysites, or Eutychians, looked upon the conduct of Mongus, who had subscribed the decree, as highly criminal, and consequently formed themselves into a new faction, under the title of Acephali, i. e. *headless*, because, by the submission of Mon-

[*n*] Evagrius, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. xiv. Liberati Breviarium Hist. cap. xviii.

[*o*] This word expresses the doctrine of those who believed, that in Christ there was but one nature, and is, in most respects, the same with the term Eutychians.

[*p*] See Facundus Hermian. Defens. Trium Capitulor. lib. xii. cap. iv.

gus, they had been deprived of their chief [q]. This sect was afterwards divided into three others, who were called Anthropomorphites, Barsanuphites, and Esaianists; and these again, in the following century, were the unhappy occasion of new factions, of which the ancient writers make frequent mention [r]. It is, however, necessary to observe here, for the information of those whose curiosity interests them in inquiries of this nature, that these subdivisions of the Eutychian sect are not to be adopted with too much facility. Some of them are entirely fictitious; others are characterised by a nominal, and not by a real difference; the division is in words and not in things; while a third sort is distinguished, not by their peculiar doctrines, but by certain rites and institutions, and matters of a merely circumstantial nature. Be that as it will, these numerous branches of the Eutychian faction did not flourish long; they declined gradually in the following century; and the influence and authority of the famous Baradæus contributed principally to their total extinction by the union he established among the numbers of that sect.

XXI. The Roman pontiff, Felix II. having assembled an Italian council, composed of sixty-seven bishops, condemned, deposed, and cut off from the communion of the church, Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, as a perfidious enemy to the truth. Several articles were alleged against Acacius, to furnish a pretext for the severity of this sentence; such as his attachment to the Mo-

And also among the partisans of the council of Chalcedon.

[q] Evagr. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. xiii. Leontius Byzant. De Sectis, tom. i. Lection Antiq. Canisii, p. 537. Timoth. in Cotelerii Monument. Ecclesiæ Græcæ, tom. iii. p. 409.

[r] These sects are enumerated by Basnage, in his Prolegom. ad Hen. Canisii Lection. Antiqu. cap. iii. and by Asseman, in his Dissertatio de Monophysitis, p. 7.

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nophysites, and their leaders Mongus and Fullo, the contempt with which he treated the council of Chalcedon, and other accusations of a like nature. But the true reasons of these proceedings, and of the irreconcileable hatred which the Roman pontiffs indulged against Acacius, were his denying the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, his opposing it throughout the whole course of his ministry [*s*], and his ambitious efforts to enlarge, beyond all bounds, the authority and prerogatives of the see of Constantinople. The Greeks, however, defended the character and memory of their bishop against all the aspersions which were cast upon him by the Romans. Hence arose a new schism, and new contests, which were carried on with great violence, until the following century, when the obstinacy and perseverance of the Latins triumphed over the opposition of the oriental Christians, and brought about an agreement, in consequence of which, the names of Acacius and Fullo were struck out of the dip-

☞ [*s*] This again is one of the periods of ecclesiastical history, in which we find a multitude of events, which are so many proofs how far the supremacy of the bishop of Rome was from being universally acknowledged. Pope Felix II. deposes and excommunicates Acacius the patriarch of Constantinople, who not only receives this sentence with contempt, but, in his turn anathematizes and excommunicates the pope, and orders his name to be struck out of the diptychs. This conduct of Acacius is approved by the emperor, the church of Constantinople, by almost all the eastern bishops, nay, by even Andreas of Thessalonica, who was at that time the pope's vicar for East Illyricum. This was the occasion of that general schism, which continued for the space of twenty-five years, between the eastern and western churches. It is here worthy of observation, that the eastern bishops did not adhere to the cause of Acacius, from any other principle, as appears from the most authentic records of those times, than a persuasion of the illegality of his excommunication by the Roman pontiff, who, in their judgment, had not a right to depose the first bishop of the east, without the consent of a general council.

tychs, or sacred registers, and thus branded with perpetual infamy [*t*].

The doctrines of Eutyches and the Monophysites.

XXII. These deplorable dissensions and contests had for their object a matter of the smallest importance. Eutyches was generally supposed to have maintained, "That the divine nature of Christ had absorbed the human, and that, consequently, in him there was but one nature, viz. the divine;" but the truth of this supposition is as yet destitute of sufficient evidence. However that may have been, this opinion, as also Eutyches, its pretended author, were rejected and condemned by those who opposed the council of Chalcedon, and principally indeed by Xenaias and Fullo, who are, therefore, improperly called Eutychians, and belong rather to the class of the Monophysites. They who assumed this latter title held, "That the divine and human nature of Christ were so united, as to form only one nature, yet, without any change, confusion, or mixture of the two natures:" and that this caution might be carefully observed, and their meaning be well understood, they frequently expressed themselves thus; "In Christ there is one nature; but that nature is two-fold and compounded [*u*]." They disowned all relation and attachment to Eutyches; but regarded, with the highest veneration, Dioscorus, Barsumas, Xenaias, and Fullo, as the pillars of their sect; and rejected, not only the Epistle of Leo, but also the decrees

[*t*] Hen. Valesius, Dissert. de Synodis Roman. in quibus damnatus est Acacius, ad calcem, tom. iii. Scriptor. Eccl. p. 179. Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 301, 380, 381. Bayle's Dictionary in English, at the article Acacius. David Blondel, De la Primauté dans l'Eglise, p. 279. Acta Sanctorum, tom. iii. Februar. p. 502.

[*u*] See the passages drawn from the writings of the Monophysites by the most learned, and, frequently, impartial Asseman, in his Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 29, 34, 117, 133, 135, 277, 297, &c.

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of the council of Chalcedon. The opinion of the Monophysites, if we judge of it by the terms in which it is here delivered, does not seem to differ in reality, but only in the manner of expression, from that which was established by the council of Chalcedon [*w*]. But, if we attend carefully to the metaphysical arguments and subtilties which the former employed to confirm their doctrine [*x*], we shall, perhaps, be induced to think, that the controversy between the Monophysites and Chalcedonians is not merely a dispute about words.

The Pelagian controversy.

XXIII. A new controversy arose in the church during this century, and its pestilential effects extended themselves through the following ages. The authors of it were Pelagius and Cælestius, both monks; the former a Briton, and the latter a native of Ireland [*y*]: they lived at Rome in the greatest reputation, and were universally esteemed on account of their extraordinary piety and virtue [*z*]. These monks looked upon the doctrines,

[*w*] Many learned men treat this controversy as a mere dispute about words. Gregory Abulpharaius, himself a Monophysite, and the most learned of the sect, declares this as his opinion. Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. &c. tom. ii. p. 291. Add to this the Biblioth. Italique, tom. xvii. p. 285. La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, p. 23. and Histoire du Christianisme de Ethiope, p. 14. Asseman, though a Roman by birth and by religion, seems in a good measure to have adopted the same way of thinking, as appears by p. 297. of the tome quoted above.

[*x*] See the subtile argumentation of Abulpharaius, in the Biblioth. Orient. of Asseman. tom. ii. p. 288.

☞ [*y*] Nothing very certain can be advanced with respect to the native country of Cælestius, which some say was Scotland, and others Campania in Italy. We know, however, that he was descended of an illustrious family; and that, after having applied himself to the study of the law for some time, he retired from the world, and embraced the monastic life. See Gennad. De Script. Ecclesiast. cap. xliv.

☞ [*z*] The learned and furious Jerome, who never once thought of doing common justice to those who had the mis-

which were commonly received, "Concerning the original corruption of human nature, and the necessity of divine grace to enlighten the understanding, and purify the heart, as prejudicial to the progress of holiness and virtue, and tending to lull mankind in a presumptuous and fatal security. They maintained that these doctrines were as false as they were pernicious; that the sins of our first parents were imputed to them alone, and not to their posterity; that we derive no corruption from their fall, but are born as pure and unspotted as Adam came out of the forming hand of his Creator; that mankind, therefore, are capable of repentance and amendment; and of arriving to the highest degrees of piety and virtue by the use of their natural faculties and powers; that, indeed, external grace is necessary to excite their endeavours, but that they have no need of the Internal succours of the divine Spirit." These notions, and some others intimately connected with them [*a*], were propagated at Rome, though in a private manner, by the two monks already mentioned, who, retiring from that city, A. D. 410, upon the approach of the Goths, went first into Sicily, and afterwards into Africa, where they published their

fortune to differ from him in opinion, accused Pelagius of gluttony and intemperance, after he had heard of his errors, though he had admired him before for his exemplary virtue. Augustin, more candid and honest, bears impartial testimony to the truth; and even while he writes against this heretic, acknowledges that he had made great progress in virtue and piety, that his life was chaste and his manners blameless; and this, indeed, is the truth of the matter.

☞ [*a*] The doctrines that were more immediately connected with the main principles of Pelagius were, that infant baptism was not a sign or seal of the remission of sins, but a mark of admission to the kingdom of heaven, which was only open to the pure in heart; that good works were meritorious, and the only conditions of salvation;—with many others too tedious to mention.

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doctrine with more freedom. From Africa Pelagius passed into Palestine, while Cælestius remained at Carthage with a view to perferment, desiring to be admitted among the presbyters of that city. But the discovery of his opinions having blasted his hopes, and his errors being condemned in a council held at Carthage, A. D. 412, he departed from that city, and went into the east. It was from this time that Augustin, the famous bishop of Hippo, began to attack the tenets of Pelagius and Cælestius in his learned and eloquent writings; and to him, indeed, is principally due the glory of having suppressed this sect in its very birth [*b*].

The progress of this controversy.

XXIV. Things went more smoothly with Pelagius in the east, where he enjoyed the protection and favour of John, bishop of Jerusalem, whose attachment to the sentiments of Origen led him naturally to countenance those of Pelagius, on account of the conformity that there seemed to be between these two systems. Under the shadow of this powerful protection, Pelagius made a public profession of his opinions, and formed disciples in several places. And though, in the year 415, he was accused by Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, whom Augustin had sent into Palestine for that purpose, before an assembly of bishops met at Jerusalem, yet he was dismissed without the least censure; and not only

[*b*] The Pelagian controversy has been historically treated by many learned writers, such as Usher, in his Antiquit. Eccles. Britannicæ; Laet; Ger. Vossius; Noris; Garnier, in his Supplement. Oper. Theodoreti; Jansenius in Augustino; and others. Longueval also, a French Jesuit, wrote a history of the Pelagians. See the preface to the ninth vol. of his Historia Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, p. 4. After all, it must be confessed, that of all these learned writers none have exhausted this interesting subject, or treated it with a sufficient degree of impartiality.

so, but was soon after fully acquitted of all errors by the council of Diospolis [c].

This controversy was brought to Rome, and referred by Cælestius and Pelagius, to the decision of Zosimus [d], who was raised to the pontificate A. D. 417. The new pontiff, gained over by the ambiguous and seemingly orthodox confession of faith, that Cælestius, who was now at Rome, had artfully drawn up, and also by the letters and protestations of Pelagius, pronounced in favour of these monks, declared them sound in the faith, and unjustly persecuted by their adversaries. The African bishops, with Augustin at their head, little affected with this declaration, continued obstinately to maintain the judgment they had pronounced in this matter, and to strengthen it by their exhortations, their letters, and their writings. Zosimus yielded to the perseverance of the Africans, changed his mind, and condemned with the utmost severity, Pelagius and Cælestius, whom he had honoured with his approbation, and covered with his protection. This was followed by a train of evils, which pursued these two monks without interruption. They were condemned by that same Ephesian council which had launched its thunder at the head of Nestorius: in short, the Gauls, Britons, and

[c] See Daniel, Histoire du Concile de Diospolis, which is to be found in the Opuscula of that eloquent and learned Jesuit, published at Paris in the year 1724, in three volumes quarto. Diospolis was a city of Palestine, known in scripture by the name of Lydda; and the bishop who presided in this council was Eulogius of Cæsarea, Metropolitan of Palestine.

[d] To preserve the thread of the history here, and prevent the reader's being surprised to find Pelagius and Cælestius appealing to Rome, after having been acquitted at Diospolis, it is necessary to observe, that after the council of Diospolis, these two monks were condemned anew, A. D. 416, by the African bishops assembled at Carthage, and those of Numidia assembled at Milevum; upon which they appealed to Rome.

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Africans, by their councils, and the emperors, by their edicts and penal laws, demolished this sect in its infancy, and suppressed it entirely before it had acquired any tolerable degree of vigour or consistence [e].

The Predestinarians.

XXV. The unhappy disputes about the opinions of Pelagius occasioned, as usually happens, other controversies equally prejudicial to the peace of the church, and the interests of true Christianity. In the course of this dispute, Augustin had delivered his opinion, concerning the necessity of divine grace in order to our salvation, and the decrees of God with respect to the future conditions of men, without being always consistent with himself, or intelligible to others. Hence certain monks of Adrumetum, and others, were led into a notion, "That God not only predestinated the wicked to eternal punishment, but also to the guilt and transgression for which they are punished; and that thus both the good and bad actions of all men were determined from eternity by a divine decree, and fixed by an invincible necessity." Those who embraced this opinion were called Predestinarians. Augustin used his utmost influence and authority to prevent the spreading of this doctrine, and explained his true sentiments with more perspicuity, that it might not be attributed to him. His efforts were seconded by the councils of Arles and Lyons, in which the doctrine in question was publicly rejected and

[e] See Gerard. Jo. Vossius, in his Historia Pelagiana, lib. i. cap. lv. p. 130; as also the learned observations that have been made upon this controversy, in the Bibliotheque Italique, tom. v. p. 74. The writers on both sides are mentioned by Jo. Franc. Buddeus, in his Isagoge ad Theologiam, tom. ii. p. 1071. The learned Wall, in his History of Infant Baptism, vol. i. chap. xix. has given a concise and elegant account of the Pelagian controversy; an account which, though imperfect in several respects, abounds with solid and useful erudition.

condemned [*f*]. But we must not omit observing, that the existence of this Predestinarian sect has been denied by many learned men, and looked upon as an invention of the Semi-Pelagians, designed to decry the followers of Augustin, by attributing to them unjustly this dangerous and pernicious error [*g*].

Semi-Pelagians.

XXVI. A new and different modification was given to the doctrine of Augustin by the monk Cassian, who came from the east into France, and erected a monastery near Marseilles. Nor was he the only one who attempted to fix upon a certain temperature between the errors of Pelagius and the opinions of the African oracle; several persons embarked in this undertaking about the year 430, and hence arose a new sect, which were called, by their adversaries, Semi-Pelagians.

The opinions of this sect have been misrepresented, by its enemies, upon several occasions; such is generally the fate of all parties in religi-

[*f*] See Jac. Sermondi Historia Prædestinatiana, tom. iv. opp. p. 271. Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. livr. xii. cap. ii. p. 698. Dion. Petavius, Dogmat. Theol. tom. vi. p. 168, 174, &c.

[*g*] See Gilb. Mauguini Fabula Prædestinatiana confutata, which he subjoined to the second tome of his learned work intitled Collectio variorum Scriptorum qui Sæc. ix. de Prædestinatione et Gratia scripserunt. Fred. Spanhemius, Introd. ad Historiam Eccles. tom. i. opp. p. 993. Jac. Basnag. Adnot. ad Prosperi Chronicon et Præf. ad Faustum Regiensem, tom. i. Lection. Antiqu. Hen. Canisii, p. 315, 348. Granet (who wrote the life of Launoy) observes, that Sirmond had solicited Launoy to write against Mauguin, who denied the existence of the Predestinarian sect; but that the former having examined the matter with care and application, adopted the sentiment of Mauguin. The whole dispute about the existence of this sect will, when closely looked into, appear to be little more, perhaps, than a dispute about words. ☞ It may be very true, that, about this time, nay, from the time of St. Paul, certain persons embraced the Predestinarian opinions here mentioned. But there is no solid proof, that the abettors of these opinions ever formed themselves into a sect. See Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 700.

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ous controversies. Their doctrine, as it has been generally explained by the learned, amounted to this: "That inward preventing grace was not necessary to form in the soul the first beginnings of true repentance and amendment; that every one was capable of producing these by the mere power of their natural faculties, as also of exercising faith in Christ, and forming the purposes of a holy and sincere obedience." But they acknowledged, at the same time, "That none could persevere or advance in that holy and virtuous course which they had the power of beginning, without the perpetual support, and the powerful assistance of the divine grace [*h*]." The disciples of Augustin, in Gaul, attacked the Semi-Pelagians, with the utmost vehemence, without being able to extirpate or overcome them [*i*]. The doctrine of this sect was so suited to the capacities of the generality of men, so conformable to the way of thinking that prevailed among the monastic orders, so well received among the gravest and most learned Grecian doctors, that neither the zeal nor industry of its adversaries could stop its rapid and extensive progress.

☞ [*h*] The leading principles of the Semi-Pelagians were the five following: 1. That God did not dispense his grace to one, more than another, in consequence of Predestination, *i. e.* an eternal and absolute decree; but was willing to save all men, if they complied with the terms of his gospel. 2. That Christ died for all men. 3. That the grace purchased by Christ, and necessary to salvation, was offered to all men. 4. That man, before he received grace, was capable of faith and holy desires. 5. That man, born free, was consequently capable of resisting the influences of grace, or complying with its suggestions. See Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. livr. xii. cap. i. p. 696, &c.

[*i*] Jac. Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. livr. xii. cap. i. Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. ii. Præf. p. 9. Vossii Histor. Pelagiana, lib. v. p. 538. Scipio Maffei (under the fictitious name of Irenæus Veronensis) De Hæresi Pelagiana in tomo xxix. Opuscul. Scientif. Angeli Calogeræ, p. 399.

Add to its other advantages, that neither Augustin, nor his followers, had ventured to condemn it in all its parts, nor to brand it as an impious and pernicious heresy.

Various controversies concerning grace.

XXVII. This was the commencement of those unhappy contests, those subtile and perplexing disputes concerning grace, or the nature and operation of that divine power, which is essentially required in order to salvation, that rent the church into the most deplorable divisions through the whole course of the succeeding age, and which, to the deep sorrow and regret of every true and generous Christian, have been continued down to the present time. The doctrine of Augustin, who was of opinion, that, in the work of conversion and sanctification, all was to be attributed to a divine energy, and nothing to human agency, had many followers in all ages of the church; though his disciples have never been entirely agreed about the manner of explaining what he taught upon that head [*k*]. The followers of Cassian were, however, much more numerous, and his doctrine, though variously explained, was received in the greatest part of the monastic schools in Gaul, from whence it spread itself far and wide through the European provinces. As to the Greeks, and other eastern Christians, they had embraced the Semi-Pelagian doctrine before Cassian, and still adhere firmly to it. The generality of Christians looked upon the opinions of

☞ [*k*] It is well known that the Jansenists and Jesuits both plead the authority of St. Augustin, in behalf of their opposite systems with respect to predestination and grace. This knotty doctrine has exercised severely the pretended infallibility of the popes, and exposed it to the laughter of the wise upon many occasions; and the famous Bull Unigenitus, which of late years has made such noise, set Clement XI. in direct opposition with several of the most celebrated Roman pontiffs. Which are we to believe?

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Pelagius as daring and presumptuous; and even to those who adopted them in secret, they appeared too free and too far removed from the notions commonly received, to render the public profession of them advisable and prudent. Certain, however, it is, that in all ages of the church there have been several persons, who, in conformity with the doctrine attributed to this heretic, have believed mankind endowed with a natural power of paying to the divine laws a perfect obedience.

THE

SIXTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the Church during this Century.

The progress of the Christian religion in the east.

I. THE zeal of the bishops of Constantinople, seconded by the protection and influence of the Grecian emperors, increased the number of Christians in the east, and contributed to the conversion of some barbarous nations; of those, particularly, who lived upon the borders of the Euxine sea, as appears by the most authentic records of Grecian history. Among these nations were the Abasgi, who inhabited the country lying between the coasts of the Euxine sea, and mount Caucasus, and who embraced Christianity under the reign of Justinian [*a*]; the Heruli, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who were converted under the same reign [*b*]; as also the Alans, Lazi, and Zani, with other uncivilized countries, whose situation, at this time, is only known by vague and imper-

[*a*] Procopius, De Bello Gothico, lib. iv. cap. iii. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 1351.

[*b*] Procopius, l. c. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

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fect conjectures. These conversions, indeed, however pompously they may sound, were extremely superficial and imperfect, as we learn from the most credible accounts that have been given of them. All that was required of these darkened nations amounted to an oral profession of their faith in Christ, to their abstaining from sacrificing to the gods, and their committing to memory certain forms of doctrine; while little care was taken to enrich their minds with pious sentiments, or to cultivate in their hearts virtuous affections. So that, even after their conversion to Christianity, they retained their primitive ferocity and savage manners, and continued to distinguish themselves by the most horrid acts of cruelty and rapine, and the practice of all sorts of wickedness. In the greatest part of the Grecian provinces, and even in the capital of the eastern empire, there were still multitudes who preserved a secret attachment to the pagan religion. Of these, vast numbers were brought over to Christianity under the reign of Justin, by the ministerial labours of John, bishop of Asia [*c*].

In the west.

II. In the western parts, Remigius, or Remi, bishop of Rheims, who is commonly called The Apostle of the Gauls, signalized his zeal in the conversion of those who still adhered to the ancient superstitions [*d*]; and his success was considerable, particularly after that auspicious period when Clovis, king of the Franks, embraced the gospel.

In Britain, several circumstances concurred to favour the propagation of Christianity. Ethelbert, king of Kent, and the most consider-

[*c*] Jos. Sim. Assemannus, Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. tom. ii. p. 85.

[*d*] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iii. p. 155.

able of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, among whom that island was at this time divided, married Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris, towards the conclusion of this century. This princess, partly by her own influence, and partly by the pious efforts of the clergy who followed her into Britain, gradually formed in the mind of Ethelbert a certain inclination to the Christian religion. While the king was in this favourable disposition, Gregory the Great sent into Britain, A. D. 596, forty Benedictine monks, with Augustin at their head [*e*], in order to bring to perfection what the pious queen had so happily begun. This monk, seconded by the zeal and assistance of Bertha, converted the king, and the greatest part of the inhabitants of Kent, and laid anew the foundations of the British church [*f*].

The labours of Columbas, an Irish monk, were attended with success among the Picts and Scots, many of whom embraced the gospel of Christ [*g*].

In Germany, the Bohemians, Thuringians, and Boii, are said to have abandoned, in this century, their ancient superstitions [*h*], and to have re-

☞ [*e*] This British apostle was prior of the monastery of St. Andrew, of the order of St. Benedict at Rome. After his arrival in England, he converted the heathen temples into places of Christian worship, erected Christ-Church into a cathedral, opened a seminary of learning, founded the Abbey of St. Augustin, received episcopal ordination from the primate of Arles, was invested by Pope Gregory with power over all the British bishops and Saxon prelates, and was the first archbishop of Canterbury.

[*f*] Bede, Histor. Eccles. Gentis Anglor. lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 55. edit. Chifleti. Rapin's History of England. Acta Sanctor. tom. iii. Februar. p. 470.

[*g*] Bede, Histor. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 134.

[*h*] Henr. Canisii Lection. Antiquæ. tom. iii. part II. p. 208. Aventinus, Annal. Boiorum.

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ceived the light of divine truth; though this fact appears extremely doubtful to many.

All these conversions and sacred exploits will lose much of their importance in the esteem of such as examine with attention the accounts which have been given of them by the writers of this and the succeeding ages. For by these accounts it appears, that the converted nations now mentioned, retained a great part of their former impiety, superstition, and licentiousness; and that, attached to Christ by a mere outward and nominal profession, they, in effect, renounced the purity of his doctrine, and the authority of his gospel, by their flagitious lives, and the superstitious and idolatrous rites and institutions which they continued to observe [*i*].

The Jews converted in several places.

III. A vast multitude of Jews, converted to Christianity in several places, were added to the church during the course of this century. Many in the east, particularly the inhabitants of Borium, a city of Lybia, were brought over to the truth by the persuasion and influence of the emperor Justinian [*k*]. In the west, the zeal and authority of the Gallic and Spanish monarchs, the efforts of Gregory the Great, and the labours of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, engaged numbers of that blinded nation to receive the gospel. It must, however, be acknowledged, that of these conversions, the greatest part were owing to the liberality of Christian princes, or to the fear of punishment, rather than to the force of argument,

[*i*] This is ingenuously confessed by the Benedictine monks, in the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iii. Introduc. p. 8. 11. 13. See also the orders given to the Anglo-Saxons by Gregory the Great, in his Epist. lib. xi. lxvi. p. 1176. tom. ii. opp. edit. Benedict. where we find him permitting them to sacrifice to the saints, on their respective holidays, the victims which they had formerly offered to the gods. See also Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 18.

[*k*] Procopius, De Ædificiis Justiniani, lib. vi. cap. ii.

or to the love of truth. In Gaul, the Jews were compelled by Childeric to receive the ordinance of baptism; and the same despotic method of converting was practised in Spain [*l*]. This method, however, was entirely disapproved by Gregory the Great, who, though extremely severe upon the heretics, would suffer no violence to be offered to the Jews [*m*].

The miracles of this century.

IV. If credit is to be given to the writers of this century, the conversion of these uncivilized nations to Christianity was principally effected by the prodigies and miracles which the heralds of the gospel were enabled to work in its behalf. But the conduct of the converted nations is sufficient to invalidate the force of these testimonies; for certainly had such miracles been wrought among them, their lives would have been more suitable to their profession, and their attachment and obedience to the doctrines and laws of the gospel more stedfast and exemplary than they appear to have been. Besides, as we have already had occasion to observe, in abandoning their ancient superstitions, the greatest part of them were more influenced by the example and authority of their princes, than by force of argument, or the power of a rational conviction. And, indeed, if we consider the wretched manner in which many of the first Christian missionaries performed the solemn task they had undertaken, we shall perceive that they wanted not many arguments to enforce the doctrines they taught, and the discipline they recommended; for they required nothing of these barbarous people that was

[*l*] Greg. Turon. Histor. Francor. lib. vi. cap. xvii. Launoius, De veteri more baptizandi Judæos et Infideles, cap. i. p. 700. 704. tom. ii. part ii. opp.

[*m*] See his Epistles, book i. ep. xlvii. tom. ii. opp. p. 541. edit. Benedict. particularly those which he wrote to Virgilius of Arles, Theodorus of Marseilles, and Peter of Taracina.

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difficult to be performed, or that laid any remarkable restraint upon their appetites and passions. The principal injunctions they imposed upon these rude proselytes were, that they should get by heart certain summaries of doctrine, and pay to the images of Christ and the saints the same religious services which they had formerly offered to the statues of the gods. Nor were they at all delicate or scrupulous in choosing the means of establishing their credit; for they looked upon it as lawful, nay, even meritorious, to deceive an ignorant and inattentive multitude, by representing to them as prodigies things that were merely natural, as we learn from the most authentic records of these times.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events which happened to the Church during this Century.

Some remains of paganism are to be found in this century.

I. THOUGH the abjuration of paganism was, by the imperial laws, made a necessary step to preferment, and to the exercising all public offices; yet several persons, reputed for their erudition and gravity of manners, persisted in their adherence to the ancient superstition. Tribonian, the famous compiler of the Roman law, is thought by some, to have been among the number of those who continued in their prejudices against the Christian religion; and such also, in the opinion of many, was the case of Procopius, the celebrated historian. It is at least undoubtedly certain, that Agathias, who was an eminent lawyer at Smyrna, and who had also acquired a considerable reputation as an historical writer, persevered in his attachment to

the pagan worship. These illustrious Gentiles were exempted from the severities which were employed frequently to engage the lower orders to abandon the service of the gods. The rigour of the laws, as it usually happens in human life, fell only upon those who had neither rank, fortune, nor court-favour to ward off their execution.

Several write against Christianity.

II. Surprised as we may be at the protection granted to the persons now mentioned, and that at a time when the gospel was, in many instances, propagated by unchristian methods; it will appear still more astonishing, that the Platonic philosophers, whose opposition to Christianity was universally known, should be permitted, in Greece and Egypt, to teach publicly the tenets of their sect, which were absolutely incompatible with the doctrines of the gospel. These doctors indeed affected, generally speaking, a high degree of moderation and prudence; and, for the most part, modified their expressions in such a manner, as to give to the pagan system an evangelical aspect, extremely adapted to deceive the unwary; as the examples of Chalcidius [*n*], and Alexander of

☞ [*n*] The religion of Chalcidius has been much disputed among the learned. Cave seems inclined to rank him among the Christian writers, though he expresses some uncertainty about the matter. Huet, G. J. Vossius, Fabricius, and Beausobre, decide with somewhat more assurance that Chalcidius was a Christian. Some learned men have maintained, on the contrary, that many things in the writings of this sage entitle him to a place among the pagan philosophers. Our learned author, in his notes to his Latin translation of Cudworth's Intellectual System, and in a Dissertation De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia, lays down an hypothesis, which holds the middle way between these two extremes. He is of opinion, that Chalcidius neither rejected nor embraced the whole system of the Christian doctrine, but selected out of the religion of Jesus and the tenets of Plato, a body of divinity in which, however, Platonism was predominant; and that he was one of those Synchretist or

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Lycopolis, abundantly testify [o]. Some of them, however, were less modest, nay, carried their audacious efforts against Christianity so far as to revile it publicly. Damascius, in the life of Isodorus, and in other places, casts upon the Christians the most ignominious aspersions [p]; Simplicius, in his illustrations of the Aristotelian philosophy, throws out several malignant insinua-

Eclectic philosophers, who abounded in the fourth and fifth centuries, and who attempted the uniting paganism and Christianity into one motley system. This account of the matter, however, appears too vague to the celebrated author of the Critical History of Philosophy, M. Brucker. This excellent writer agrees with Dr. Mosheim in this, that Chalcidius followed the motley method of the eclectic Platonists, but does not see any thing in this inconsistent with his having publicly professed the Christian religion. For the question is not whether this philosopher was a sound and orthodox Christian, which M. Brucker denies him to have been, but whether he had abandoned the pagan rites, and made a public profession of Christianity; and this our philosophical historian looks upon as evident. For though in the commentary upon Plato's Timæus, Chalcidius teaches several doctrines, that seem to strike at the foundations of our holy religion, yet the same may be said of Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and others, who are, nevertheless, reckoned among the professors of Christianity. The reader will find a most excellent view of the different opinions concerning the religion of Chalcidius, in the Hist. Critica Philosophiæ Bruckeri, tom. iii. p. 472—485. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that the Eclectics, before Christianity became the religion of the state, enriched their system from the gospel, but ranged themselves under the standards of Plato; and that they repaired to those of Christ without any considerable change of their system, when the examples and authority of the emperors rendered the profession of the Christian religion a matter of prudence, as well as its own excellence rendered it most justly a matter of choice.

☞ [o] Alexander wrote a treatise against the Manichæans, which is published by Combefis, in the second tome of his Auctor. Noviss. Biblioth. PP. Photius, Combefis, and our learned Cave looked upon Alexander as a proselyte to Christianity. But Beausobre has demonstrated the contrary. See Histoire de Manicheisme, part II. Discours Preliminaire, sect. 13. p. 236.

[p] Photius, Bibliothecæ Cod. ccxlii. p. 1027.

tions against the doctrines of the gospel; and the Epicheiremata of Proclus, written expressly against the disciples of Jesus, were universally read, and were, on that account, accurately refuted by Philoponus [q]. All this shows, that many of the magistrates who were witnesses of these calumnious attempts against the gospel were not so much Christians in reality, as in appearance, otherwise they would not have permitted the slanders of these licentious revilers to pass without correction or restraint.

III. Notwithstanding the extensive progress of the gospel, the Christians, even in this century, suffered grievously, in several places, from the savage cruelty and bitterness of their enemies. In Britain, the Anglo-Saxons, who were masters of that kingdom, involved a multitude of its ancient inhabitants, who professed Christianity, in the deepest distresses, and tormented them with all that variety of suffering, which the injurious and malignant spirit of persecution could invent [r]. The Huns, in their irruption into Thrace, Greece, and the other provinces, during the reign of Justinian, treated the Christians with great barbarity; not so much, perhaps, from an aversion to Christianity, as from an hostile spirit of hatred against the Greeks, and a desire of overturning and destroying their empire. The face of affairs was totally changed in Italy, about the middle of this century, by a grand revolution which happened under the reign of Justinian I. This emperor, by the arms of Narsus, overturned the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, which had subsisted ninety years; and subdued all Italy under his dominion. The state of things, however, which this revolution introduced, was not of a very long

The sufferings of the Christians in several places.

[q] See J. A. Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, vol. iii. p. 522.

[r] Usserii Index Chronol. Antiquit. Eccles. Brittann. subjectus ad a. 508. p. 1123.

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duration; for the Lombards, a fierce and warlike people, headed by Alboinus their king, and joined by several other German nations, issued forth from Pannonia, in the year 568, under the reign of Justin, invaded Italy, and having made themselves masters of the whole country, except Rome and Ravenna, erected a new kingdom at Tacinum. Under these new tyrants, who, to the natural ferocity of their characters, added an aversion to the religion of Jesus, the Christians, in the beginning, endured calamities of every kind. But the fury of these savage usurpers gradually subsided; and their manners contracted, from time to time, a milder character. Autharis, the third monarch of the Lombards, embraced Christianity, as it was professed by the Arians, in the year 587. But his successor Agilulf, who married his widow Theudelinda, was persuaded by that princess to abandon Arianism, and to adopt the tenets of the Nicene Catholics [*s*].

But the calamities of the Christians, in all other countries, were light and inconsiderable in comparison of those which they suffered in Persia under Chosroes, the inhuman monarch of that nation. This monster of impiety aimed his audacious and desperate efforts against heaven itself; for he publicly declared, that he would make war not only upon Justinian, but also upon the God of the Christians; and, in consequence of this blasphemous menace, he vented his rage against the followers of Jesus in the most barbarous manner, and put multitudes of them to the most cruel and ignominious deaths [*t*].

[*s*] Paul. Diacon. De Gestis Longobardorum, lib. ii. cap. ii. xxvii. p. 219. 231. edit. Lindenbrogii. Muratorii Antiq. Italiæ, tom. i. p. 14. tom. ii. p. 297. Giannone Histoire de Naples, tom. i. p. 302.

[*t*] Procopius, De Bello Persico, lib. ii. cap. xxvi.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy, during this Century.

The state of letters in the west.

I. THE incursions of the barbarous nations into the greatest part of the western provinces were extremely prejudicial to the interests of learning and philosophy, as must be known to all who have any acquaintance with the history of those unhappy times. During those tumultuous scenes of desolation and horror, the liberal arts and sciences would have been totally extinguished, had they not found a place of refuge, such as it was, among the bishops, and the monastic orders. Here they assembled their scattered remains, and received a degree of culture which just served to keep them from perishing. Those churches, which were distinguished by the name of cathedrals, had schools erected under their jurisdiction, in which the bishop, or a certain person appointed by him, instructed the youth in the seven liberal arts, as a preparatory introduction to the study of the scriptures [*a*]. Persons of both sexes, who had devoted themselves to the monastic life, were obliged, by the founders of their respective orders, to employ daily a certain portion of their time in reading the ancient doctors of the church,

[*a*] Fleury, Discours sur l'Histoire Eccles. depuis l'an 600, &c. sect. 21. p. 56. tom. xiii. de l'Histoire Eccles.—Histoire Litter. de la France, tom. iii. Intr. sect. 32. p. 12. Herm. Conringii Antiq. Academicæ, p. 66—167. edit. Heumanni.

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whose writings were looked upon as the rich repertories of celestial wisdom, in which all the treasures of theology were centred [*b*]. Hence libraries were formed in all the monasteries, and the pious and learned productions of the Christian and other writers were copied and dispersed by the diligence of transcribers appointed for that purpose, who were generally such monks as, by weakness of constitution, or other bodily infirmities, were rendered incapable of harder labour. To these establishments we owe the preservation and possession of all the ancient authors, sacred and prophane, who escaped, in this manner, the savage fury of Gothic ignorance, and are happily transmitted to our times. It is also to be observed, that, besides the schools that belonged to the cathedrals, there were others opened in the monasteries, in which the youth who were set apart for the monastic life were instructed by the abbot, or some of his ecclesiastics, in the arts and sciences [*c*].

The sciences are taught very imperfectly.

II. But these institutions and establishments, however laudable, did not produce such happy effects as might have been expected from them. For, not to speak of the indolence of certain abbots and bishops, who neglected entirely the duties of their stations, nor of the bitter aversion which others discovered towards every sort of learning and erudition, which they considered as pernicious to the progress of piety [*d*]; not to

[*b*] Benedict. Anianensis Concordia Regularum, lib. ii. p. 55. 64. 75. 77. 86. 100. lib. iii. p. 16—41, &c. edit. Hug. Menardi. Jo. Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. i. Actor. SS. Ord. Bened. p. 44.

[*c*] Benedict. Concord. Reg. lib. ii. p. 232. Mabillon, Actor. SS. Ord. Bened. tom. i. p. 314.

[*d*] Gregory the Great is said to have been of this number, and to have ordered a multitude of the productions of pagan writers, and among others Livy's Roman History, to be

speak of the illiberal ignorance which several prelates affected, and which they injudiciously confounded with Christian simplicity [e]; even those who applied themselves to the study and propagation of the sciences were, for the most part, extremely unskilful and illiterate; and the branches of learning taught in those schools were inconsiderable, both as to their quality and their number [f]. Greek literature was almost every where neglected; and those who by profession had devoted themselves to the culture of Latin erudition, spent their time and labour in grammatical subtilties and quibbles; as the pedantic examples of Isodorus and Cassiodorus abundantly show. Eloquence was degraded into a rhetorical bombast, a noisy kind of declamation, which was composed of motley and frigid allegories and barbarous terms; as may even appear from several parts of the writings of those superior geniuses who surpassed their contemporaries in precision and elegance, such as Boethius, Cassiodorus, Ennodius, and others. As to the other liberal arts, they shared the common calamity; and as they were now cultivated, had nothing very liberal or elegant in their appearance, consisting entirely in a few dry rules, which, instead of a complete and finished system, produced only a ghastly and lifeless skeleton.

The study of philosophy decried.

III. Philosophy fared still worse than literature; for it was entirely banished from all the seminaries which were under the inspection and government of the ecclesiastical order. The greatest part of these zealots looked upon the study of philosophy not only as useless, but even perni-

committed to the flames. See Gabriel Liron, Singularités Histor. et Litter. tom. i. p. 166.

[e] Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedict. p. 46.

[f] See M. Aur. Cassiodori Liber de septem Disciplinis, which is extant among his works.

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cious to those who had dedicated themselves to the service of religion. The most eminent, nay, almost the only Latin philosopher of this age, was the celebrated Boethius, privy counsellor to Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy. This illustrious senator had embraced the Platonic philosophy [g], but approved also, as was usual among the modern Platonics, the doctrine of Aristotle, and illustrated it in his writings. And it was undoubtedly owing to the diligence and zeal with which he explained and recommended the Aristotelian philosophy, that it arose now among the Latins to a higher degree of credit than it had hitherto enjoyed.

The state of letters among the Greeks.

IV. The state of the liberal arts among the Greeks was, in several places, much more flourishing than that in which we have left them among the Latins; and the emperors raised and nourished a spirit of literary emulation, by the noble rewards and the distinguished honours which they attached to the pursuit of all the various branches of learning [h]. It is, however, certain, that, notwithstanding these encouragements, the sciences were cultivated with less ardour, and men of learning and genius were less numerous than in the preceding century.

In the beginning of this, the modern Platonics maintained as yet their credit, and their philosophy was in vogue. The Alexandrian and Athenian schools flourished under the direction of Damascius, Isidorus, Simplicius, Eulamius,

[g] This will appear evident to such as, with a competent knowledge of modern Platonism, read attentively the books of Boethius, De Consolatione, &c. See also, on this subject, Renat. Vall. p. 10. 56. Holstenius in Vita Porphyrii, p. 7. edit. Cantabr. See also Mascov. Histor. Germanor. tom. ii. p. 102.

[h] See the Codex Theodos. tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 113. Herm. Conringius, De Studiis urbis Romæ et Constantinop. in a Dissertation subjoined to his Antiquitates Academicæ.

Hermias, Priscianus, and others, who were placed on the highest summit of literary glory. But when the emperor Justinian, by a particular edict, prohibited the teaching philosophy at Athens [*i*], (which edict, no doubt, was levelled at the modern Platonism already mentioned), and when his resentment began to flame out against those who refused to abandon the Pagan worship, then all these celebrated philosophers took refuge among the Persians, who were, at that time, the enemies of Rome [*k*]. They, indeed, returned from their voluntary exile when the peace was concluded between the Persians and the Romans, A. D. 533 [*l*]; but they could never recover their former credit, and they gradually disappeared in the public schools and seminaries of learning, which ceased, at length, to be under their direction.

Thus expired that famous sect, which was distinguished by the title of the Modern or Later Platonic; and which, for a series of ages, had produced such divisions and tumults in the Christian church, and been, in other respects, prejudicial to the interests and progress of the gospel. It was succeeded by the Aristotelian philosophy, which arose imperceptibly out of its obscurity, and was placed in an advantageous light by the illustrations of the learned; but especially and principally by the celebrated commentaries of Philoponus. And, indeed, the knowledge of this philosophy was necessary for the Greeks;

[*i*] Johannes Malela, Historia Chronica, part II. p. 187. edit. Oxon. Another testimony concerning this matter is cited from a certain Chronicle, not yet published, by Nic. Alemannus, ad Procopii Histor. Arcanam, cap. xxvi. p. 377. edit. Venet.

[*k*] Agathias, De Rebus Justiniani, lib. ii. p. 49. edit. Venet. tom. ii. Corpor. Byzant.

[*l*] See Wesselingii Observat. Variar. lib. i. cap. xviii. p. 117.

since it was from the depths of this peripatetical wisdom, that the Monophysites and Nestorians drew the subtilties with which they endeavoured to overwhelm the abettors of the Ephesian and Chalcedonian councils.

In the east.

V. The Nestorians and Monophysites, who lived in the east, turned equally their eyes towards Aristotle; and, in order to train their respective followers to the field of controversy, and arm them with the subtilties of a contentious logic, translated the principal books of that deep philosopher into their native languages. Sergius, a Monophysite and philosopher, translated the books of Aristotle into Syriac [*m*]. Uranius, a Syrian, propagated the doctrines of this philosopher in Persia; and disposed in their favour Chosroes, the monarch of that nation, who became a zealous abettor of the peripatetic system [*n*]. The same prince received from one of the Nestorian faction (which, after having procured the exclusion of the Greeks, triumphed at this time unrivalled in Persia) a translation of the Stagirite into the Persian language [*o*].

It is, however, to be observed, that among these eastern Christians there were some who rejected both the Platonic and Aristotelian doctrines; and, unwilling to be obliged to others for their philosophical knowledge, invented systems of their own, which were inexpressibly chimerical and pregnant with absurdities. Of this class of original philosophers was Cosmas, a Nes-

[*m*] Georgius Abulpharaius, Historia Dynastiar. published by Dr. Pocock, p. 94. 172.

[*n*] See Agathias, De Rebus Justiniani, lib. ii. p. 48. That Uranius made use of the Aristotelian philosophy in the Eutychian controversy, is evident even from this single circumstance, that Agathias represents him disputing concerning the possibility and immiscibility of God (*και το παθητον και ἀξυγχυτον.*)

[*o*] Agathius, l. c. lib. ii. p. 48. edit. Venet.

torian, commonly called Indicopleustes, whose doctrines are extremely singular, and resemble more the notions of the Orientals than the opinions of the Greeks [*p*]. Such also was the writer, from whose Exposition of the Octateuch, Photius has drawn several citations [*q*].

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church.

Disputes between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

I. THE external form of church government continued without any remarkable alteration during the course of this century. But the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, who were considered as the most eminent and principal rulers of the Christian church, were engaged in perpetual disputes about the extent and limits of their respective jurisdictions, and seemed both to aspire at the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. The bishop of Constantinople not only claimed an unrivalled sovereignty over the eastern churches, but also maintained that his church was, in point of dignity, no way inferior to that of Rome. The Roman pontiffs beheld, with impatience, these lordly pretensions, and warmly asserted the pre-eminence of their church, and its undoubted superiority over that of Constantinople. Gregory the Great distinguished himself in this violent contest; and the following event furnished him with an opportunity of exerting his zeal. In the year 588, John, bishop of Constantinople, surnamed the Faster, on account of his extraordinary abstinence

[*p*] Bernard de Montfaucon, Præfat. ad Cosman, p. 10. tom. ii. Collectionis Novæ Patrum Græcorum.

[*q*] Biblioth. Codic. xxxvi. p. 22, 23.

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and austerity, assembled, by his own authority, a council at Constantinople, to inquire into an accusation brought against Peter, patriarch of Antioch; and, upon this occasion, assumed the title of œcumenical or universal bishop [r]. Now, although this title had been formerly enjoyed by the bishops of Constantinople, and was also susceptible of an interpretation that might have prevented its giving umbrage or offence to any [s], yet Gregory suspected, both from the time and the occasion of John's renewing his claim to it, that he was aiming at a supremacy over all the Christian churches; and therefore he opposed his claim in the most vigorous manner, in letters to that purpose, addressed to the emperor, and to such persons as he judged proper to second his opposition. But all his efforts were without effect; and the bishops of Constantinople continued to assume the title in question, though not in the sense in which it had alarmed the Roman pontiff [t].

☞ [r] We cannot avoid taking notice of some mistakes which have slipped from the pen of Dr. Mosheim in his narration of this event. First, The council here mentioned was held under the pontificate of Pelagius II. and not of Gregory the Great, who was not chosen bishop of Rome before A. D. 590. Secondly, The person accused before this council was not Peter, but Gregory, bishop of Antioch. Thirdly, It does not appear, that the council was summoned by John of Constantinople, but by the emperor Mauricius, to whom Gregory had appealed from the governor of the east, before whom he was first accused.

☞ [s] The title of universal bishop, which had been given by Leo and Justinian to the patriarchs of Constantinople, was not attended with any accession of power.

[t] Gregor. Magni Epist. lib. iv. v. vii. All the passages in these epistles that relate to this famous contest have been extracted and illustrated by Launoius, in his Assertio in Privileg. S. Medardi, tom. iii. opp. part II. p. 266. See also Lequien, Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 67. Pfaffii Dissertatio de Titulo Œcumenicus, in the Tempe Helvetica, tom. iv. p. 99.

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II. This pontiff, however, adhered tenaciously to his purpose, opposed with vehemence the bishop of Constantinople, raised new tumults and dissensions among the sacred order, and aimed at no less than an unlimited supremacy over the Christian church. This ambitious design succeeded in the west; while, in the eastern provinces, his arrogant pretensions were scarcely respected by any but those who were at enmity with the bishop of Constantinople; and this prelate was always in a condition to make head against the progress of his authority in the east. How much the opinions of some were favourable to the lordly demands of the Roman pontiffs, may be easily imagined from an expression of Ennodius, that infamous and extravagant flatterer of Symmachus, who was a prelate of but ambiguous fame. This parasitical panegyrist, among other impertinent assertions, maintained, that the Roman pontiff was constituted judge in the place of God, which he filled as the vicegerent of the Most High [*u*]. On the other hand, it is certain, from a variety of the most authentic records, that both the emperors and the nations in general were far from being disposed to bear with patience the yoke of servitude, which the see of Rome was arrogantly imposing upon the Christian church [*w*]. The Gothic princes set bounds to the power of the bishop of Rome in Italy, permitted none to be raised to

The Roman pontiff struggles hard for universal dominion.

[*u*] See his Apologeticum pro Synodo, in the xvth volume of the Bibliotheca Magna Patrum, p. 246. edit. Paris. ☞ One would think that this servile adulator had never read the 4th verse of the 2d chapter of St. Paul's second Epistle to the Thessalonians, where the Anti-Christ, or man of sin, is described in the very terms in which he represents the authority of the pontiff Symmachus.

[*w*] See particularly the truth of this assertion, with respect to Spain, in Geddes' Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy, chiefly with relation to the ancient Spanish church, which is to be found in the second volume of his Miscellaneous Tracts.

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the pontificate without their approbation, and reserved to themselves the right of judging concerning the legality of every new election [x]. They enacted spiritual laws, called the religious orders before their tribunals, and summoned councils by their legal authority [y]. In consequence of all this, the pontiffs, amidst all their high pretensions, reverenced the majesty of their kings and emperors, and submitted to their authority with the most profound humility; nor were they, as yet, so lost to all sense of shame, as to aim at the subjection of kings and princes to their ghostly dominion [z].

Vices and corruption of the clergy

III. The rights and privileges of the clergy were very considerable before this period, and the riches, which they had accumulated, immense; and both received daily augmentations from the growth of superstition in this century. The arts of a rapacious priesthood were practised upon the ignorant devotion of the simple; and even the remorse of the wicked was made an instrument of increasing the ecclesiastical treasure. For an opinion was propagated with industry among the people, that the remission of their sins was to be purchased by their liberalities to the churches and monks, and that the prayers of departed saints, whose efficacy was victorious at the throne of God, were to be bought by offerings presented to the temples, which were consecrated to these celestial mediators. But, in proportion as the riches of the church increased, the various orders

[x] See Jo. Jac. Mascovii Histor. Germanor. tom. ii. not. p. 113.

[y] Basnage, Histoire des Eglises Reformées, tom. i. p. 381.

[z] See the citations from Gregory the Great collected by Launoi, De regia potestate in matrimon. tom. i. opp. part II. p. 691. and in his Assertio in Privilegium S. Medardi, p. 272. tom. iii. opp. part II. See also Giannone, Hist. de Naples, tom. ii. p. 282.

of the clergy were infected with those vices that are too often the consequences of an affluent prosperity. This appears, with the utmost evidence, from the imperial edicts and the decrees of councils, which were so frequently levelled at the immoralities of those who were distinguished by the name of clerks. For whence so many laws to restrain the vices, and to preserve the morals of the ecclesiastical orders, if they had fulfilled even the obligations of external decency, or shown, in the general tenor of their lives, a certain degree of respect for religion and virtue? Be that as it will, the effect of all these laws and edicts was so inconsiderable as to be scarcely perceived; for so high was the veneration paid, at this time, to the clergy, that their most flagitious crimes were corrected by the slightest and gentlest punishments; an unhappy circumstance which added to their presumption, and rendered them more daring and audacious in iniquity.

The bishops of Rome not excepted.

IV. The bishops of Rome, who considered themselves as the chiefs and fathers of the Christian church, are not to be excepted from this censure, any more than the clergy who were under their jurisdiction. We may form some notion of their humility and virtue by that long and vehement contention, which arose in the year 498, between Symmachus and Laurentius, who were on the same day elected to the pontificate by different parties, and whose dispute was, at length, decided by Theodoric king of the Goths. Each of these ecclesiastics maintained obstinately the validity of his election; they reciprocally accused each other of the most detestable crimes; and to their mutual dishonour, their accusations did not appear, on either side, entirely destitute of foundation. Three different councils, assembled at Rome, endeavoured to terminate this odious

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schism [*a*], but without success. A fourth was summoned, by Theodoric, to examine the accusations brought against Symmachus, to whom this prince had, at the beginning of the schism, adjudged the papal chair. This council was held about the commencement of this century, and in it the Roman pontiff was acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge. But the adverse party refused to acquiesce in this decision; and this gave occasion to Enpodius of Ticinum, now Pavia, to draw up his adulatory apology for the council and Symmachus [*b*]. In this apology, which disguises the truth under the seducing colours of a gaudy rhetoric, the reader will perceive that the foundations of that enormous power, which the popes of Rome afterwards acquired, were now laid; but he will seek in vain in this laboured production any satisfactory proof of the injustice of the charge brought against Symmachus [*c*].

The growth of the monks.

V. The number, credit, and influence of the monks augmented daily in all parts of the Christian world. They multiplied so prodigiously in the east, that whole armies might have been raised out of the monastic order, without any sensible

☞ [*a*] This schism may be truly termed odious, as it was carried on by assassinations, massacres, and all the cruel proceedings of a desperate civil war. See Paul Diaconus, lib. xvii.

[*b*] This apology may be seen in the fifteenth volume of the Magn. Bibl. Patrum, p. 248.

☞ [*c*] That Symmachus was never fairly acquitted, may be presumed from the first, and proved from the second, of the following circumstances: First, That Theodoric, who was a wise and equitable prince, and who had attentively examined the charge brought against him, would not have referred the decision to the bishops, if the matter had been clear, but would have pronounced judgment himself, as he had formerly done concerning the legality of his election. The second circumstance against Symmachus is, that the council acquitted him without so much as hearing those who accused him; and he himself did not appear, though frequently summoned.

diminution of that enormous body. The monastic life was also highly honoured, and had an incredible number of patrons and followers in all the western provinces, as appears from the rules which were prescribed in this century, by various doctors, for directing the conduct of the cloistered monks, and the holy virgins, that had sacrificed their capacity of being useful in the world, to the gloomy charms of a convent [*d*]. In Great Britain, a certain abbot, named Congall, is said to have persuaded an incredible number of persons to abandon the affairs, obligations, and duties of social life, and to spend the remainder of their days in solitude, under a rule of discipline, of which he was the inventor [*e*]. His disciples travelled through many countries, in which they propagated with such success the contagion of this monastic devotion, that, in some time, Ireland, Gaul, Germany, and Switzerland, swarmed with those lazy orders, and were, in a manner, covered with convents. The most illustrious disciple of the abbot now mentioned was Columban, whose singular rule of discipline is yet extant, and surpasses all the rest in simplicity and brevity [*f*]. The monastic orders, in general, abounded with fanatics and profligates; the latter were more numerous than the former in the western convents, while in those of the east the fanatics were predominant.

VI. A new order of monks, which in a manner absorbed all the others that were established in the

The rise of the Benedictine order.

[*d*] These are in Holstenius' Codex Regularum, part II. which work was published at Rome in three volumes 4to, in the year 1661. See also Edm. Martene et Ursin. Durand. Thesaur. Anecdot. Nov. tom. i. p. 4.

[*e*] Jac. Usserii Antiq. Eccles. Britan.

[*f*] Usserii Sylloge Antiquar. Epistolar. Hibernicar. p. 5—15. Holstenii Codex Regularum, tom. ii. p. 48. Mabillon, Præf. ad Seculum ii. Benedictinum, p. 4.

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west, was instituted, A. D. 529, by Benedict of Nursia, a man of piety and reputation, for the age he lived in. From his rule of discipline, which is yet extant, we learn that it was not his intention to impose it upon all the monastic societies, but to form an order whose discipline should be milder, their establishment more solid, and their manners more regular, than those of the other monastic bodies; and whose members, during the course of a holy and peaceful life, were to divide their time between prayer, reading, the education of youth, and other pious and learned labours [g]. But, in process of time, the followers of this celebrated ecclesiastic degenerated sadly from the piety of their founder, and lost sight of the duties of their station, and the great end of their establishment. Having acquired immense riches from the devout liberality of the opulent, they sunk into luxury, intemperance, and sloth, abandoned themselves to all sorts of vices, extended their zeal and attention to worldly affairs, insinuated themselves into the cabinets of princes, took part in political cabals and court factions, made a vast augmentation of superstitious rites and ceremonies in their order, to blind the multitude, and supply the place of their expiring virtue; and, among other meritorious enterprizes, laboured most ardently to swell the arrogance, by enlarging the power and authority of the Roman pontiff. The good Benedict never dreamt that the great purposes of his institution were to be thus perverted, much less did he give any encouragement or permission to such flagrant abuses. His rule of discipline was neither favourable to luxury nor ambition: and it is still

[g] See Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. i. and Annales Ordin. Benedict. tom. i. See also Helyotus and the other writers who have given accounts of the monastic orders.

celebrated on account of its excellence, though it has not been observed for many ages.

It is proper to remark here, that the institution of Benedict changed, in several respects, the obligations and duties of the monastic life as it was regulated in the west. Among other things, he obliged those who entered into his order to promise, at the time of their being received as noviciates, and afterwards, at their admission as members of the society, to persevere in an obedience to the rules he had laid down, without attempting to change them in any respect. As he was extremely solicitous about the stability of his institution, this particular regulation was wise and prudent; and it was so much the more necessary, that, before his time, the monks made no scruple of altering the laws and rules of their founders as often as they thought proper [*h*].

VII. This new order made a most rapid progress in the west, and, in a short space of time, arrived at the most flourishing state. In Gaul, its interests were promoted by Maurus; in Sicily and Sardinia, by Placidus; in England, by Augustin and Mellitus; in Italy, and other countries, by Gregory the Great, who is himself reported to have been for some time a member of this society [*i*]; and it was afterwards received in Germany by the means of Boniface [*k*]. This

Its rapid progress.

[*h*] See Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict. part I. p. 18.

[*i*] See Mabillon, Diss. de Vita Monastica Gregorii M. ad Hadr. Valesium, tom. ii. Analect. Veter. as also his Præf. ad Sæc. Benedict. p. 29. This circumstance, however, is denied by some writers; and among others by Gallonius, concerning whose book upon that subject, see Simon's Lettres Choisies, tom. iii. p. 63.

[*k*] Anton. Dadini Alteserræ Origines Rei Monasticæ, lib. i. cap. ix. p. 33. The propagation of the Benedictine order, through the different provinces of Europe, is related by Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedictinum, et ad Sæc. iv. part I. p. 62.

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sudden and amazing progress of the new order was ascribed by the Benedictines to the wisdom and sanctity of their discipline, and to the miracles which were worked by their founder, and his followers. But a more attentive view of things will convince the impartial observer, that the protection of the Roman pontiffs, to the advancement of whose grandeur and authority the Benedictines were most servilely devoted, contributed much more to the lustre and influence of their order than any other circumstances, nay, than all other considerations united together. But, however universal their credit was, they did not reign alone; other orders subsisted in several places until the ninth century, when the Benedictine absorbed, indeed, all the other religious societies, and held, unrivalled, the reins of the monastic empire [*l*].

The principal Greek and Oriental writers.

VIII. The most celebrated Greek and Oriental writers that flourished in this century, were those which follow:

Procopius of Gaza, who interpreted successfully several books of scripture [*m*].

Maxentius, a monk of Antioch, who, besides several treatises against the sects of his time, composed Scholiums on Dionysius the Areopagite.

Agapetus, whose Scheda Regia, addressed to the emperor Justinian, procured him a place among the wisest and most judicious writers of this century.

Eulogius, a presbyter of Antioch, who was the terror of heretics, and a warm and strenuous defender of the orthodox faith.

John, patriarch of Constantinople, who, on ac-

[*l*] Lenfant, Histoire du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 32, 33.

[*m*] See Simon, Critique de la Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 197.

count of his austere method of life, was surnamed the Faster, and who acquired a certain degree of reputation by several little productions, and more particularly by his Penitential.

Leontius of Byzantium, whose book against the sects, and other writings, are yet extant.

Evagrius, a scholastic writer, whose Ecclesiastical History is, in many places, corrupted with fabulous narrations.

Anastasius of Sinai, whom most writers consider as the author of a trifling performance, written against a sort of heretics called Acephali, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards [*n*].

IX. Among the Latin writers the following are principally worthy of mention: Latin writers.

Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, who united the most inconsistent and contradictory qualities; as in some cases he discovered a sound and penetrating judgment, and in others the most shameful and superstitious weakness; and in general manifested an extreme aversion to all kinds of learning, as his Epistles and Dialogues sufficiently testify [*o*].

Cæsarius of Arles, who composed some moral writings, and drew up a rule of conduct and discipline for the Holy Virgins [*p*].

Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspina, who attacked, with great warmth, the Arians and Pelagians in Africa; but whose style and manner were harsh

[*n*] See for an account of this book, Simon, l. c. tom. i. p. 232, as also Barat. Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. ii. p. 21.

[*o*] A splendid edition of the works of Gregory was published at Paris, in the year 1705, in four volumes folio, by father St. Marthe, a Benedictine monk. See an account of this pontiff, Acta Sanctor. tom. ii. Martii, p. 121.

[*p*] Of this writer the Benedictine monks have given a learned account in their Histoire Litteraire de la France. tom. iii. p. 190.

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and uncouth, as was generally the case of the African writers [q].

Ennodius, bishop of Ticinum, now Pavia, who was none of the meanest authors of this century, whether we consider his compositions in prose or in verse; though he disgraced his talents, and dishonoured his eloquence, by his infamous adulation of the Roman pontiff, whom he exalted so high above all mortals, as to maintain that he was answerable to none upon earth for his conduct, and subject to no human tribunal [r].

Benedict of Nursia, who acquired an immortal name, by the rule he laid down for the order which he instituted, and the multitude of religious societies that submitted to his discipline.

Dionysius, who was surnamed the Little, on account of his extraordinary humility, and was deservedly esteemed for his Collection of the Ancient Canons; and also for his Chronological Researches.

Fulgentius Ferrandus, an African, who acquired a considerable degree of reputation by several treatises, but especially by his Abridgment of the Canons; though his style and diction were entirely destitute of harmony and elegance.

Facundus, a strenuous defender of the Three Chapters, of which we shall give an account in their place.

Arator, who translated, with tolerable success, The Acts of the Apostles, into Latin verse.

Primasius of Adrumetum, whose Commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, as also his book Concerning Heresies, are yet extant.

Liberatus, whose Compendious History of the Nestorian and Eutychian Controversies, intitle

[q] See, for an account of Fulgentius, the Acta Sanctorum, tom. i. Januar. p. 32, &c.

[r] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iii. p. 96.

him to an eminent rank among the writers of this century.

Fortunatus, a man of various erudition, and whose poetic compositions are far from being destitute of genius [*s*].

Gregory of Tours, who is esteemed the father of Gallic history; and who would have descended with honour to posterity, did not his Annals of the Franes, and the rest of his writings, carry so many marks of levity, credulity, and weakness [*t*].

Gildas, the most ancient of the British writers, who composed a book Concerning the Destruction of Britain, in which there are several things not altogether unworthy of the curiosity of the learned.

Columbanus, a native of Ireland, who became famous on account of the monastic rules he prescribed to his followers, his zeal for establishing religious orders, and his poetical productions [*u*].

Isidore, bishop of Seville, whose grammatical, theological, and historical productions discover more learning and pedantry, than judgment and taste.

We may conclude this enumeration of the Latin writers with the illustrious names of Boethius and Cassiodorus, who far surpassed all their contemporaries in learning and knowledge; the former shone forth with the brightest lustre in the republic of letters, as a philosopher, an ora-

[*s*] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iii. p. 464.

[*t*] The life of Gregory of Tours is to be found in the Histoire Litteraire de la France; and his faults are mentioned by Pagi, in his Dissert. de Dionysio Paris. sect. 25. p. 16. which is added to the fourth tome of the Breviarium Pontif. Romanor. Launois defends this historian in many things in his works, tom. i. part II. p. 131.

[*u*] None have given more accurate accounts of Gildas and Columban than the learned Benedictines, Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iii. p. 279. 505.

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tor, a poet, and a divine, and both in elegance and subtilty of genius had no superior, nor indeed any equal in this century; the latter, though in many respects inferior to him, was nevertheless far from being destitute of merit [*w*]. Several productions of these writers have been transmitted down to our times.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Church during this Century.

The increase of superstition.

I. WHEN once the ministers of the church had departed from the ancient simplicity of religious worship, and sullied the native purity of divine truth by a motley mixture of human inventions, it was difficult to set bounds to this growing corruption. Abuses were daily multiplied, and superstition drew from its horrid fecundity an incredible number of absurdities, which were added to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. The controversial writers in the eastern provinces continued to render perplexed and obscure some of the principal doctrines of Christianity, by the subtile distinctions which they borrowed from a vain and chimerical philosophy. The public teachers and instructors of the people degenerated sadly from the apostolic character. They seemed to aim at nothing else than to sink the multitude into the most opprobrious ignorance and superstition, to efface in their minds all sense of the beauty and excellence of genuine piety, and to substitute, in the place of religious principles, a blind veneration for the clergy, and

[*w*] See Simon, Critique de la Bibliotheque de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 211.

a stupid zeal for a senseless round of ridiculous rites and ceremonies. This, perhaps, will appear less surprising, when we consider, that the blind led the blind; for the public ministers and teachers of religion were, for the most part, grossly ignorant; nay, almost as much so as the multitude whom they were appointed to instruct.

II. To be convinced of the truth of the dismal representation we have here given of the state of religion at this time, nothing more is necessary, than to cast an eye upon the doctrines now taught concerning the worship of images and saints, the fire of purgatory, the efficacy of good works, *i. e.* the observance of human rites and institutions, towards the attainment of salvation, the power of relics to heal the diseases of body and mind; and such like sordid and miserable fancies, which are inculcated in many of the superstitious productions of this century, and particularly in the epistles and other writings of Gregory the Great. Nothing more ridiculous on the one hand than the solemnity and liberality with which this good, but silly pontiff, distributed the wonder-working relics; and nothing more lamentable on the other, than the stupid eagerness and devotion with which the deluded multitude received them, and suffered themselves to be persuaded, that a portion of stinking oil, taken from the lamps which burned at the tombs of the martyrs, had a supernatural efficacy to sanctify its possessors, and to defend them from all dangers, both of a temporal and spiritual nature [*x*]. Proved by examples.

III. Several attempts were made in this century to lay down a proper and judicious method of explaining the scriptures. Of this nature were the two books of Junilius the African, The state of exegetical or explanatory theology.

[*x*] See the list of sacred oils which Gregory the Great sent to queen Theudelinda, in the work of Ruinartius, intitled, Acta Martyrum sincera et selecta, p. 619.

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Concerning the various Parts of the divine Law [*y*]: a work destitute of precision and method, and by which it appears that the author had not sufficient knowledge and penetration for the task he undertook.

Cassiodorus also, in his two books Concerning the divine Laws, has delivered several rules for the right interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

Philoxenus the Syrian, translated, into his native language, the Psalms of David, and the Books of the New Testament [*z*].

The number of interpreters was considerable in this century. Those, who made the greatest figure among the Greeks in this character, were Procopius of Gaza, Severus of Antioch, Julian, and a few others; the first was an expositor of no mean abilities [*a*]. The most eminent rank among the Latin commentators is due to Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, Primasius [*b*], Isidore of Seville [*c*], and Bellator.

The defects of these expositors.

IV. It must, however, be acknowledged, that these writers scarcely deserve the name of expositors, if we except a small number of them, and among these the eastern Nestorians, who, following the example of Theodore of Mopsuestia, were careful in exploring the true sense and the native energy of the words employed in the Holy Scriptures. So that we may divide the commentators of this age into two classes. In the first,

[*y*] See Simon, Critique de la Bibliotheque de Du Pin, tom. i. p. 229.

[*z*] Jo. Sim. Assemannus, Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 88.

[*a*] See Simon. Lettres Choisies, tom. iv. p. 120. of the new edition.

[*b*] Simon Hist. Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T. chap. xxiv. p. 337; as also his Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccl. de Du Pin, tom. i. p. 226.

[*c*] Simon, Critique de la, &c. de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 259.

we rank those who did nothing more than collect the opinions and interpretations which had been received by the ancient doctors of the church; which collections were afterwards called *chains* by the Latins [*d*]. Such was the Chain of Olympiodorus on Job; the Chain of Victor of Capua upon the Four Gospels; and the Commentary of Primasius on the Epistle to the Romans, which was compiled from the works of Augustin, Jerome, Ambrose, and others. Even Procopius of Gaza may be ranked in this class, though not with so much reason as the mere compilers now mentioned; since, in many cases, he has consulted the dictates of his own judgment, and not followed, with a servile and implicit submission, the voice of antiquity. To the second class belong those fanciful expositors, who, setting up Origen as their great model, neglect and overlook entirely the sense of the words employed by the sacred writers, lose themselves in spiritual refinements and allegorical digressions, and, by the succour of a lively and luxuriant imagination, draw from the scriptures arguments in favour of every whim they have thought proper to adopt. Such was Anastatius the Sinaite, whose Mysterious Contemplations upon the six Days Creation [*e*], betray the levity and ignorance of their author; and Gregory the Great, whose Moral Observations upon the Book of Job, have formerly met with unmerited commendations. Such also were Isidore of Seville, and Primasius, as manifestly appears by the Book of Allegories upon the Holy Scriptures [*f*], which was invented by the former, and

[*d*] See Steph. Le Moyne, Prolegomena [illegible] varia Sacra, p. 53. Jo. Albert, Fabricii Biblioth. Græcæ, lib. v. cap. xvii. or vol. vii. p. 727.

[*e*] The title is Contemplationes Anagogicæ in Hexaëmeron.

[*f*] Liber Allegoriarum in Scripturam Sacram.

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the Mystical Exposition of the Book of the Revelation [g], which was imagined by the latter.

The methods of explaining the Christian doctrine which now prevailed.

V. It would be needless to expect from the divines of this century an accurate view, or a clear and natural explanation of the Christian doctrine. The greatest part of them reasoned and disputed concerning the truths of the gospel, as the blind would argue about light and colours; and imagined that they had acquitted themselves nobly, when they had thrown out a heap of crude and indigested notions, and overwhelmed their adversaries with a torrent of words.

We may perceive, however, in the writers of this age, some evident marks of the three different methods of explaining and inculcating the doctrines of religion, which are yet practised among the Greeks and Latins. For some collected together a heap, rather than a system of theological opinions, from the writings of the ancient doctors, from the decrees of councils, and from the Holy Scriptures, such were Isidore of Seville among the Latins, whose three books of sentences or opinions are still extant; and Leontius the Cyprian among the Greeks, whose Loci-communes, or common-place book of divinity, which he had compiled from the writings of the ancients, have been much esteemed. These authors gave rise to that species of divinity, which the Latins distinguished afterwards by the name of positive theology.

Others endeavoured to explain the various doctrines of Christianity by reasoning upon their nature, their excellency, and fitness; and thus it was, even with the weapons of reason and argument, that the most of the Christian doctors disputed against the Nestorians, the Eutychians, and the Pelagians. These metaphysical divines

[g] Expositio Mystica in Apocalypsin.

were called schoolmen, and their writings were afterwards characterized under the general term of scholastic divinity.

A third class of theological teachers, very different from those already mentioned, comprehended a certain species of fanatics, who maintained that the knowledge of divine truth was only to be derived from inward feeling, and mental contemplation. This class assumed the appellation of mystics. These three methods of deducing and unfolding the doctrines of the gospel have been transmitted down to our times. No writer of this century composed a judicious or complete system of divinity; though several branches of that sacred science were occasionally illustrated.

The state of practical religion and virtue.

VI. Those who consecrated their pious labours to the advancement of practical religion and moral virtue aimed at the fulfilling this good purpose, partly by laying down precepts, and partly by exhibiting edifying examples. They who promoted the cause of piety and virtue in the former way modified their precepts according to the state and circumstances of the persons for whom they were designed. One sort of precepts were addressed to those who had not abandoned the connexions of civil society, but lived amidst the hurry of worldly affairs. A different set of rules was administered to those who aspired after higher degrees of perfection, and lived in a retirement from the contagion and vanities of the world. The precepts addressed to the former, represent the Christian life, as consisting in certain external virtues, and acts of religion; as appears from the Homilies and Exhortations of Cæsarius; the Capita Parænetica of Agapetus; and especially from the Formula honestæ Vitæ, i. e. the Summary of a virtuous life, drawn up by Martin, archbi-

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shop of Braga [*h*]. The rules administered to the latter sort of Christians were more spiritual and sublime: they were exhorted to separate, as far as was possible, the soul from the body by divine contemplation; and for that purpose, to enervate and emaciate the latter by watching, fasting, perpetual prayer, and singing of psalms, as we find in the Dissertation of Fulgentius, upon Fasting, and those of Nicetius, Concerning the Vigils of the Servants of God, and the Good Effects of Psalmody. The Greeks adopted for their leader, in this mystic labyrinth, Dionysius, falsely called the Areopagite, whose pretended writings John of Scythopolis illustrated with annotations in this century. We need not be at any pains in pointing out the defects of these injudicious zealots; the smallest acquaintance with that rational religion, which is contained in the gospel, will be sufficient to open the eyes of the impartial upon the absurdities of that chimerical devotion we have now been describing.

The lives of the saints.

VII. They who enforced the duties of Christianity, by exhibiting examples of piety and virtue to the view of those for whom their instructions were designed, wrote, for this purpose, the Lives of the Saints; and there was a considerable number of this kind of biographers both among the Greeks and Latins. Ennodius, Eugippius, Cyril of Scythopolis, Dionysius the Little, Cogitosus, and others, are to be ranked in this class. But, however pious the intention of these biographers may have been, it must be acknowledged, that they executed it in a most contemptible manner. No models of rational piety are to be found among those pretended worthies, whom they propose to Christians as objects of imitation. They amuse their readers with gigan-

[*h*] See the Actor. Sanctor. Martii. tom. iii. p. 86.

tic fables and trifling romances; the examples they exhibit are those of certain delirious fanatics, whom they call saints, men of a corrupt and perverted judgment, who offered violence to reason and nature by the horrors of an extravagant austerity in their own conduct, and by the severity of those singular and inhuman rules which they prescribed to others. For, by what means were these men sainted? By starving themselves with a frantic obstinacy, and bearing the useless hardships of hunger, thirst, and inclement seasons, with stedfastness and perseverance; by running about the country like madmen, in tattered garments, and sometimes half naked, or shutting themselves up in a narrow space, where they continued motionless; by standing for a long time in certain postures, with their eyes closed, in the enthusiastic expectation of divine light. All this was saintlike and glorious; and the more that any ambitious fanatic departed from the dictates of reason and common sense, and counterfeited the wild gestures, and the incoherent conduct of an idiot, or a lunatic, the surer was his prospect of obtaining an eminent rank among the heroes and demi-gods of a corrupt and degenerate church.

VIII. Many writers laboured with diligence to terminate the reigning controversies, but none with success. Nor shall we be much surprised, that these efforts were ineffectual, when we consider how they were conducted; for scarcely can we name a single writer, whose opposition to the Eutychians, Nestorians, and Pelagians, was carried on with probity, moderation, or prudence. Primasius and Philoponus wrote concerning all the sects, but their works are lost; the treatise of Leontius, upon the same extensive subject, is still extant, but is scarcely worth perusing. Isidore of Seville, and Leontius of Neapolis, disputed against the Jews, but with what success and

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dexterity will be easily imagined by those who are acquainted with the learning and logic of these times. We omit, therefore, any further mention of the miserable disputants of this century, from a persuasion that it will be more useful and entertaining to lay before the reader a brief account of the controversies that now divided and troubled the Christian church.

The controversies concerning Origen and his doctrine renewed.

IX. Though the credit of Origen and his system seemed to lie expiring under the blows it had received from the zeal of the orthodox, and the repeated thunder of synods and councils, yet it was very far from being totally sunk. On the contrary, this great man and his doctrine were held by many, and especially by the monks, in the highest veneration, and cherished with a kind of enthusiasm which became boundless and extravagant. In the west, Bellator translated the works of Origen into the Latin language. In the eastern provinces, and particularly in Syria and Palestine, which were the principal seats of Origenism, the monks, seconded by several bishops, and chiefly by Theodore of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, defended the truth and authority of the doctrines of Origen against all his adversaries with incredible vehemence and contention of mind [*i*]. The cause was, at length, brought before Justinian, who, in a long and verbose edict, addressed to Mennas, patriarch of Constantinople [*k*], passed a severe condemnation upon Origen and his doctrine, and ordered it to be entirely suppressed [*l*]. The effects of this edict

[*i*] Cyrillus, Scythopolis, in Vita Sabæ, which is to be found in Cotelerius, Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ, p. 370. Henr. Noris, Dissertat. De Synodo Quinta, cap. i. ii. p. 554. tom. i. opp.

[*k*] This edict is published in Harduin's Concilia, tom. iii. p. 243.

[*l*] This edict was procured by the solicitation of Pelagius, who was legate of Vigilius at the court of Constantinople.

were more violent than durable; for, upon the breaking out of the controversy concerning the three chapters [*m*], soon after this time, Origenism was not only revived in Palestine, but even recovered new vigour, and spread itself far and wide. Hence many commotions were raised in the church, which were, however, terminated by the fifth general council, assembled at Constantinople, by Justinian, A. D. 553, and in which Origen and his followers were again condemned [*n*].

The controversy concerning the three chapters.

X. This controversy produced another, which continued much longer, was carried on with still more excessive degrees of animosity and violence, and the subject of which was of much less moment and importance. The emperor Justinian was eagerly bent upon extirpating that violent branch of the Monophysites, which was distinguished by the name of Acephali; and consulted upon this matter Theodore, bishop of Cæsarea, who was a Monophysite, and at the same time extremely attached to the doctrine of Origen. The artful prelate considered this as a favourable opportunity of procuring repose to the followers of Origen by exciting a new controversy, as also of casting a reproach upon the council of Chalcedon, and giving a mortal blow to the Nestorians

with a view to confound the Acephali, who were admirers of Origen, and particularly to vex Theodore, of whose credit with the emperor, Pelagius was extremely jealous. It was to return this affront, as well as to effect the purposes mentioned in the following section, that Theodore set on foot the controversy concerning the three chapters, which produced such tedious, cruel, and fatal dissensions in the church. See Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise, livr. x. ch. vi. p. 520.

[*m*] For an explication of what is meant by the three chapters, see note [*o*] of the Xth section.

[*n*] See Harduini Concilia, tom. iii. p. 283. Evagrius, Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. xxxviii. Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, livr. x. chap. vi. p. 517, &c. Pet. Dan. Huetii Origeniana, lib. ii. 224. Doucin's Singular. Diss. which is subjoined to his Historia Origeniana, p. 345.

and their cause. In order, therefore, to effect these three important purposes, he persuaded the emperor, that the Acephali would return to the bosom of the church, under the following easy and reasonable conditions; namely, "That those passages in the acts of the council of Chalcedon, in which Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, had been pronounced orthodox, should be effaced; and that the productions of these prelates, which were known by the appellation of the three chapters [*o*], as also other writings of theirs which discovered a manifest propensity towards the Nestorian errors, should be condemned and prohibited." The emperor lent a propitious ear to the counsels of this prelate; and, by an edict, published A. D. 544, ordered the three chapters to be condemned and effaced, without any prejudice, however, to the authority of the council of Chalcedon [*p*]. This edict was warmly opposed by the African and western bishops, and particularly by Vigilius, the Roman pontiff, who considered it as highly injurious not only to the authority of the council now mentioned, but also

☞ [*o*] The pieces that were distinguished by the appellation of the three chapters, were, 1. The writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. 2. The books which Theodoret of Cyrus wrote against the twelve Anathemas, which Cyril had published against the Nestorians. 3. The letter which Ibas of Edessa had written to one Maris a Persian, concerning the council of Ephesus and the condemnation of Nestorius. These writings were supposed to favour the Nestorian doctrine, and such indeed was their tendency. It is, however, to be observed, that Theodore of Mopsuestia lived before the time of Nestorius, and died, not only in the communion of the church, but also in the highest reputation for his sanctity. Nor were the writings of the other two either condemned or censured by the council of Chalcedon; nay, the faith of Theodoret and Ibas was there declared entirely orthodox. The decision of the council of Constantinople, in opposition to this, shows that councils, as well as doctors, differ.

[*p*] See Harduini Concilia, tom. iii. p. 287. Evagrius, Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. p. 412.

to the memory of those holy men whose writings and characters it covered with reproach [q]. Upon this, Justinian ordered Vigilius to repair immediately to Constantinople, that, having him in his power, he might compel him with more facility to acquiesce in the edict, and reject the three chapters; and this method was attended with success, for the pontiff yielded. On the other hand, the bishops of Africa and Illyricum obliged Vigilius to retract his judicatum, by which, in a council of seventy bishops, he had condemned the three chapters; in obedience to the emperor. For they separated themselves from the communion of this pope, and refused to acknowledge him as one of their brethren; nay, treated him as an apostate, until he approved what he had been obliged to condemn. The effect of this retractation redoubled the zeal and violence of Justinian, who, by a second edict, published A. D. 551, condemned anew the three chapters.

The œcumenical council.

XI. After many cabals, commotions, and dissensions, which were occasioned by this trifling controversy, it was thought proper to submit the final decision of it to an assembly of the universal church. This assembly was accordingly summoned, by Justinian, to meet at Constantinople, A. D. 553, and is considered as the fifth œcumenical or general council. The emperor gained his point here; for, besides the doctrines of Origen [r], the three chapters, the condemnation of

[q] Hen. Noris. De Synodo quinta, cap. x. p. 579. tom. i. opp. Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. livr. x. cap. vi. p. 523.

[r] We do not find in the acts of this council any one which condemns the doctrines of Origen. It is, however, generally imagined, that these doctrines were condemned by this assembly; and what gave rise to this notion was probably the fifteen Greek canons yet extant, in which the principal errors of Origen are condemned, and which are intitled, The canons of the 160 fathers assembled in the council of Constantinople. The tenets of Origen, which gave the most offence, were

which he had solely in view, were, by the bishops of the east (for there were very few western prelates present at this council), declared heretical and pernicious. Vigilius, who was now at Constantinople, refused his assent to the decrees of this council; for which reason, after having received various affronts, he was sent into exile, from whence he was not permitted to return before he had acquiesced in the decisions of this assembly [*s*]; and, changing his sentiments for the fourth time, had declared the opinions contained in the three chapters to be execrable blasphemies. His successor, Pelagius, and all the Roman pontiffs that have since lolled in the papal chair, adhered to the decrees of this council; but neither their authority, nor that of the emperor, could prevail upon the western bishops to follow their example in this respect. Many of these, on the contrary, carried matters so far as to separate themselves from the communion of the pope on this account; and divisions, that arose from hence in the church, were too violent to admit of an expeditious or easy reconciliation, and could only be healed by length of time [*t*].

the following: 1. That in the Trinity, the Father is greater than the Son, and the Son than the Holy Ghost. 2. The pre-existence of souls, which Origen considered as sent into mortal bodies for the punishment of sins committed in a former state of being. 3. That the soul of Christ was united to the *word* before the incarnation. 4. That the sun, moon, and stars, &c. were animated and endowed with rational souls. 5. That after the resurrection all bodies will be of a round figure. 6. That the torments of the damned will have an end; and that as Christ had been crucified in this world to save mankind, he is to be crucified in the next to save the devils.

[*s*] See Petr. de Marca, Dissert. de Decreto Vigilii pro Confirmatione Synodi V. which is to be found among the Dissertations subjoined to his learned work, De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii.

[*t*] The best account of this matter is to be found in Noris, De Synodo Quinta Œcumenica, though even this excellent author cannot be vindicated from the imputation of a certain

XII. Another controversy of much more importance had been carried on before this period among the Greeks; it was first kindled in the year 519, and it arose upon the following question; Whether it could be said with propriety, that one of the Trinity suffered on the cross? This was designed to embarrass the Nestorians, who seemed to separate too much the two natures in Christ; and the Scythian monks, who seconded this design, and to whom the rise of this controversy is principally to be imputed, maintained the affirmative of this nice and difficult question. Others asserted, on the contrary, that this manner of speaking was by no means to be adopted, since it bordered upon the erroneous expressions and tenets of the Theopaschites, who composed one of the sects into which the Eutychians were subdivided [*u*]. This latter opinion was confirmed by Hormisdas the Roman pontiff, to whom the Scythian monks had appealed in vain; but this, instead of allaying the heat of the present controversy, only added new fuel to the flame. John II. who was one of the successors of Hormisdas, approved the proposition which the latter had condemned; and confirming the opinion of the Scythian monks, exposed the decisions of the papal oracle to the laughter of the wise; his sentence was afterwards approved by the fifth general council; and thus peace was restored in the

The question whether one of the Trinity may be said to have suffered? debated.

degree of partiality. See also Christ. Lupus, Not. ad Concilium quintum, in his Ad Concilia Adnotat.

[*u*] The deacon Victor, and those who opposed the Scythian monks, expressed their opinion in the following proposition: viz. One person of the Trinity suffered in the flesh. Both sides received the council of Chalcedon, acknowledged two natures in Christ, in opposition to Eutyches, and only one person in opposition to Nestorius; and yet, by a torrent of jargon, and a long chain of unintelligible syllogisms, the Scythian monks accused their adversaries of Nestorianism, and were accused by them of the Eutychian heresy.

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church by the conclusion of these unintelligible disputes [w].

With the question now mentioned, there was another closely and intimately connected, namely, Whether the person of Christ could be considered as compounded? Of this question the Scythian monks maintained the affirmative, and their adversaries the negative.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

Rites multiplied.

I. In this century the cause of true religion sunk apace, and the gloomy reign of superstition extended itself in proportion to the decay of genuine piety. This lamentable decay was supplied by a multitude of rites and ceremonies. In the east the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies gave occasion to the invention of various rites and external institutions, which were used as marks to distinguish from each other the contending parties. The western churches were loaded with rites by Gregory the Great, who had a marvellous fecundity of genius in inventing, and an irresistible force of eloquence in recommending superstitious observances. Nor will this appear surprising to those who know, that in the opinion of this pontiff, the words of the sacred writings were images of mysterious and invisible

[w] See Norisii Historia Controversiæ de uno ex Trinitate passo, tom. iii. opp. p. 771. The ancient writers who mention this controversy call the monks, who set it on foot, Scythians. But La Croze, in his Thesaur. Epist. tom. iii. p. 189. imagines, that the country of these monks was Egypt, and not Scythia; and this conjecture is supported by reasons which carry in them at least a high degree of probability.

things; for such as embrace this chimerical system will easily be led to express all the doctrines and precepts of religion by external rites and symbols. Gregory, indeed, is worthy of praise in this, that he did not pretend to force others to the observance of his inventions; though this, perhaps, was as much owing to a want of power, as to a principle of moderation.

The occasions of them investigated.

II. This prodigious augmentation of rites and ceremonies rendered an augmentation of doctors and interpreters of these mysteries indispensibly necessary. Hence a new kind of science arose, which had for its object, the explication of these ceremonies, and the investigation of the causes and circumstances from whence they derived their origin. But the most of those, who entered into these researches, never went to the fountain-head, to the true sources of these idle inventions. They endeavoured to seek their origin in reason and Christianity; but in this they deceived themselves, or, at least, deluded others, and delivered to the world their own fancies, instead of letting them into the true causes of things. Had they been acquainted with the opinions and customs of remote antiquity, or studied the pontifical law of the Greeks and Romans, they had come at the true origin of many institutions, which were falsely looked upon as venerable and sacred.

Public worship.

III. The public worship of God was as yet celebrated by every nation in its own language; but was enlarged, from time to time, by the addition of various hymns, and other things of that nature, which were considered as proper to enliven devotion by the power of novelty. Gregory the Great prescribed a new method of administering the Lord's Supper, with a magnificent assemblage of pompous ceremonies; this institution of his was called the canon of the mass; and, if any are unwilling to give it the name of a new

The administration of the eucharist.

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appointment, they must at least acknowledge, that it was a considerable augmentation of the ancient canon for celebrating the eucharist, and occasioned a remarkable change in the administration of that ordinance. Many ages, however, passed before this Gregorian canon was adopted by all the Latin churches [x].

Baptism.

Baptism, except in cases of necessity, was administered only on great festivals. We omit mentioning, for the sake of brevity, the Litanies that were addressed to the saints, the different sorts of supplications, the stations, or assemblies of Gregory, the forms of consecration, and other such institutions, which were contrived, in this century, to excite a species of external devotion, and to engage the outward senses, in religious worship. An inquiry into these matters would of itself deserve to be made the subject of a separate work.

IV. There was an incredible number of temples erected in honour of the saints, during this century, both in the eastern and western provinces. The places set apart for public worship were already very numerous; but it was now that Christians first began to consider these sacred edifices as the means of purchasing the favour and protection of the saints, and to be persuaded that these departed spirits defended and guarded, against evils and calamities of every kind, the provinces, lands, cities, and villages, in which they were honoured with temples. The number of these temples was almost equalled by that of the festivals, which were now observed in the Christian church, and many of which seem to have been instituted upon a pagan model. To those that were celebrated in the preceding century were now added the festival of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, invented with a design

[x] See Theod. Chr. Lilienthal, De Canone missa Gregoriano.

to remove the uneasiness of the heathen converts on account of the loss of their lupercalia, or feasts of Pan, which had been formerly observed in the month of February, the festival of the Immaculate Conception, the day set apart to commemorate the birth of St. John, and others less worthy of mention.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this Century.

1. THE various sects which had fomented divisions among Christians in the early ages of the church were far from being effectually suppressed or totally extirpated. Though they had been persecuted and afflicted with an infinite diversity of trials and calamities, yet they still subsisted, and continued to excite dissensions and tumults in many places. The Manicheans are said to have gained such a degree of influence among the Persians, as to have corrupted even the son of Cabades, the monarch of that nation, who repaid their zeal in making proselytes with a terrible massacre, in which numbers of that impious sect perished in the most dreadful manner. Nor was Persia the only country which was troubled with the attempts of the Manicheans to spread their odious doctrine; other provinces of the empire were, undoubtedly, infected with their errors, as we may judge from the book that was written against them by Heraclian, bishop of Chalcedon [*y*]. In Gaul and Africa, dissensions of a different kind prevailed; and the controversy between the Semi-Pelagians and the disciples

The remains of the ancient heresies.

Manicheans.

Semi-Pelagians.

[*y*] See Photius, Biblioth. Cod. cxiv. p. 291.

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of Augustin, continued to divide the western churches.

Donatists.

II. The Donatists enjoyed the sweets of freedom and tranquillity, as long as the Vandals reigned in Africa; but the scene was greatly changed with respect to them, when the empire of these barbarians was overturned in the year 534. They, however, still remained in a separate body, and not only held their church, but, towards the conclusion of this century, and particularly from the year 591, defended themselves with new degrees of animosity and vigour, and were bold enough to attempt the multiplication of their sect. Gregory the Roman pontiff, opposed these efforts with great spirit and assiduity; and, as appears from his epistles [z], tried various methods of depressing this faction, which was pluming its wings anew, and menacing the revival of those lamentable divisions which it had formerly excited in the church. Nor was the opposition of the zealous pontiff without effect; it seems, on the contrary, to have been attended with the desired success, since, in this century, the church of the Donatists dwindled away to nothing, and after this period no traces of it are any where to be found.

Arians.

III. Towards the commencement of this century, the Arians were triumphant in several parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Many of the Asiatic bishops favoured them secretly, while their opinions were openly professed, and their cause maintained, by the Vandals in Africa, the Goths in Italy, the Spaniards, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the greatest part of the Gauls. It is true, the Greeks, who had received the decrees of the council of Nice, persecuted and oppressed the

[z] See his Epistles, lib. iv. ep. xxxiv. xxxv. p. 714, 715. lib. vi. ep. lxv. p. 841. ep. xxxvii. p. 821. lib. ix. ep. liii. p. 972. lib. ii. ep. xlviii. p. 611. tom. ii. opp.

Arians, wherever their influence and authority could reach; but the Nicenians, in their turn, were not less rigorously treated by their adversaries, particularly in Africa and Italy, where they felt, in a very severe manner, the weight of the Arian power, and the bitterness of their resentment [a].

The triumphs of Arianism were, however, but transitory; and its prosperous days were entirely eclipsed, when the Vandals were driven out of Africa, and the Goths out of Italy, by the arms of Justinian [b]. For the other Arian princes were easily induced to abandon, themselves, the doctrine of that sect; and not only so, but to employ the force of laws and the authority of councils to prevent its further progress among their subjects, and to extirpate it entirely out of their dominions. Such was the conduct of Sigismund king of the Burgundians; Theodimir king of the Suevi, who had settled in Lusitania; and Reccared king of Spain. Whether the change wrought in these princes was owing to the force of reason and argument, or to the influence of hopes and fears, is a question which we shall not pretend to determine. One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that from this period, the Arian sect declined apace, and could never after recover any considerable degree of stability and consistence.

IV. The Nestorians, after having gained a firm footing in Persia, and established the patriarch, or head of their sect at Seleucia, extended their

The state of the Nestorians.

[a] Procopius, De Bello Vandal. lib. i. cap. viii. and De Bello Gothico, lib. ii. cap. ii. Evagrius, Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iv. cap. xv.

[b] See Mascovii Historia German. tom. ii. p. 76. 91. See also an account of the barbarian kings, who abandoned Arianism, and received the doctrines of the Nicene council, in the Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. Martii, p. 275. and April. p. 134.

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views further, and spread their doctrines, with a success equal to the ardour of their zeal, through the provinces that lay beyond the limits of the Roman empire. There are yet extant authentic records, from which it appears, that throughout all Persia, as also in India, Armenia, Arabia, Syria, and other countries, there were vast numbers of Nestorian churches, all under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Seleucia [c]. It is true, indeed, that the Persian monarchs were not all equally favourable to this growing sect, and that some of them even persecuted, with the utmost severity, all those who bore the Christian name throughout their dominions [d]; but it is also true, that such of these princes, as were disposed to exercise moderation and benignity towards the Christians, were much more indulgent to the Nestorians, than to their adversaries who adhered to the council of Ephesus, since the latter were considered as spies employed by the Greeks, with whom they were connected by the ties of religion.

Eutychian controversies.

V. The Monophysites, or Eutychians, flourished also in this century, and had gained over to their doctrine a considerable part of the eastern provinces. The emperor Anastasius was warmly attached to the doctrine and sect of the Acephali, who were reckoned among the more rigid Monophysites [e]; and in the year 513, created patriarch of Antioch, in the room of Flavian, whom he had expelled from that see, Severus, a learned

[c] Cosmas Indicopleustes Topographiæ Christianæ, lib. ii. p. 125. which is to be found in Montfaucon's Collectio Nova PP. Græcorum.

[d] Jos. Sim. Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. tom. iii. part I. p. 109. 407. 411. 441. 449. tom. iii. part II. cap. v. sect. ii. p. 83.

[e] Evagrius, Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iii. cap. xxx. xliv, &c. Theodorus the Reader, Hist. Ecclesiast, lib. ii. p. 562. See also the Index Operum Severi, as it stands collected from ancient MSS. in Montfaucon's Bibliotheca Coistiniana, p. 53.

monk of Palestine, from whom the Monophysites were called Severians [*f*]. This emperor exerted all his influence and authority to destroy the credit of the council of Chalcedon in the east, and to maintain the cause of those who adhered to the doctrine of one nature in Christ; and, by the ardour and vehemence of his zeal, he excited the most deplorable seditions and tumults in the church [*g*]. After the death of Anastasius, which happened A. D. 518, Severus was expelled in his turn; and the sect which the late emperor had maintained and propagated with such zeal and assiduity was every where opposed and depressed by his successor Justin, and the following emperors, in such a manner, that it seemed to be upon the very brink of ruin, notwithstanding that it had created Sergius patriarch in the place of Severus [*h*].

Jacob Baradæus, the restorer of the Monophysites.

VI. When the affairs of the Monophysites were in such a desperate situation, that almost all hope of their recovery was vanished, and their bishops were reduced, by death and imprisonment, to a very small number, an obscure man, whose name was Jacob, and who was distinguished from others so called, by the surname of Baradæus, or Zanzalus, restored this expiring sect to its former prosperity and lustre [*i*]. This poor monk, the

[*f*] See Jo. Sim. Assemani. Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 47. 321. Eusch. Renaudot. Historia Patriarch. Alexandrinor. p. 127. 129, 130. 135. 138, &c.

[*g*] Evagrius, Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iii. cap. xxxiii. Cyrillus, vita Sabæ in Jo. Bapt. Cotelerii Monument. Ecclesiæ Græcæ, tom. iii. p. 312. Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Anastasius.

[*h*] See Abulpharaii Series Patriarch. Antiochen. in Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. &c. tom. ii. p. 323.

[*i*] See Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. &c. tom. ii. cap. viii. p. 62. 72. 326. 331. 414. Eusebii Renaud. Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr. p. 119. 133. 425. and the Liturgiæ Orient. tom. ii. p. 333. 342. Faustus Naironus, Eucplia Fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum monumentis, part I. p. 40, 41.

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grandeur of whose views was much above the obscurity of his station, and whose fortitude and patience no dangers could daunt, nor any labours exhaust, was ordained to the episcopal office by a handful of captive bishops, travelled on foot through the whole east, established bishops and presbyters every where, revived the drooping spirits of the Monophysites, and produced such an astonishing change in their affairs by the power of his eloquence, and by his incredible activity and diligence, that when he died bishop of Edessa, A. D. 588, he left his sect in a most flourishing state in Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, and other countries [*k*]. This dexterous monk had prudence to contrive the means of success, as well as activity to put them in execution; for he almost totally extinguished all the animosities, and reconciled all the factions, that had divided the Monophysites; and when their churches grew so numerous in the east, that they could not all be conveniently comprehended under the sole jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, he appointed, as his assistant, the primate of the east, whose residence was at Tagritis, on the borders of Armenia [*l*]. The laborious efforts of Jacob were seconded in Egypt, and the adjacent countries, by Theodosius bishop of Alexandria; and he became so famous, that all the Monophysites of the east considered him as their second parent and founder, and are to this day called Jacobites, in honour of their new chief.

[*k*] Concerning the Nubians and Abyssinians, see Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. &c. tom. ii. p. 330. Lobo, Voyage d'Abyssinie, tom. ii. p. 36. Ludolph. Commentar. ad Historiam Æthiopicam, p. 451. 461. 466.

[*l*] Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 410. 414. 418. See also this learned writer's Dissertatio de Monophysitis, which is prefixed to the second volume of the work now cited.

VII. Thus it happened, that by the imprudent zeal and violence which the Greeks employed in defending the truth, the Monophysites gained considerable advantages, and, at length, obtained a solid and permanent settlement. From this period their sect has been under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, who, notwithstanding the difference of opinion which subsists, with respect to some points, between the Syrian and Egyptian Monophysites, are extremely careful to maintain communion with each other, both by letters, and by the exchange of good offices. The primate of the Abyssines is subject to the patriarch of Alexandria; and the primate of the east, who resides at Tagritis, is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch. The Armenians are ruled by a bishop of their own, and are distinguished by certain opinions and rites from the rest of the Monophysites.

The state of the Monophysites.

VIII. The sect of the Monophysites, before it was thus happily established, was torn with factions and intestine disputes, and suffered, in a particular manner, from that nice and subtle controversy concerning the body of Christ, which was kindled at Alexandria. Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus, affirmed, A. D. 519, that the divine nature had so insinuated itself into the body of Christ, from the very moment of the Virgin's conception, that the body of our Lord changed its nature, and became incorruptible. This opinion was also embraced by Caianus, bishop of Alexandria; from whom those who adopted it were called Caianists. They were, however, divided into three sects, two of which debated this question, Whether the body of Christ was created or increated? While the third asserted, that our Lord's body was indeed corruptible, but never actually corrupted, since the energy of the divine nature must have prevented its dissolution.

Controversies among the Monophysites.

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This sect was warmly opposed by Severus of Antioch, and Damianus, who maintained that the body of Christ, before his resurrection, was truly corruptible, *i. e.* subject to the affections and changes with which human nature is generally attended. Those who embraced the opinion of Julian were called Aphthartodocetæ, Docetæ, Phantasiasts, and even Manicheans, because it was supposed to follow from their hypothesis, that Christ did not suffer in reality, but only in appearance, hunger and thirst, pain and death; and that he did not actually assume the common affections and properties of human nature. On the other hand, the votaries of Severus were distinguished by the names Phthartolatræ, Ktistolatræ, and Creaticolæ. This miserable controversy was carried on with great warmth under the reign of Justinian, who favoured the Aphthartodocetæ; soon after, it subsided gradually; and, at length, was happily hushed in silence [*m*]. Xenaias of Hierapolis struck out an hypothesis upon this knotty matter, which seemed equally remote from those of the contending parties; for he maintained that Christ had, indeed, truly suffered the various sensations to which humanity is exposed; but that he suffered them not in his nature, but by a submissive act of his will [*n*].

The Agnoetæ.

IX. Some of the Corrupticolæ (for so they were called who looked upon the body of Christ to be corruptible), particularly Themistius, a deacon of Alexandria, and Theodosius, a bishop of that city, were carried by the inconsiderate heat

[*m*] Timotheus, De Receptione Hæreticorum in Cotelerii Monumentis Ecclesiast. Græcæ, tom. iii. p. 409. Libertates in Breviario Controv. cap. xx. Forbesii Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ, lib. iii. cap. xviii. p. 108. Asseman. Biblioth. Orientat. tom. iii. part II. p. 457.

[*n*] Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 22. and 168.

of controversy into another opinion, which produced new commotions in the church towards the conclusion of this century. They affirmed, that to the divine nature of Christ all things were known; but that from his human nature many things were concealed. The rest of the sect charged the authors of this opinion with imputing ignorance to the divine nature of Christ; since they held, in common with them, that there was but one nature in the Son of God. Hence the votaries of this new doctrine were called Agnoetæ [o]; but their sect was so weak and ill-supported, that, notwithstanding their eloquence and activity, which seemed to promise better success, it gradually declined, and came to nothing.

X. From the controversies with the Monophysites arose the sect of the Tritheists, whose chief was John Ascusnage, a Syrian philosopher, and, at the same time, a Monophysite [p]. This man imagined in the Deity three natures, or substances, absolutely equal in all respects, and joined together by no common essence; to which opinion his adversaries gave the name of Tritheism. One of the warmest defenders of this doctrine was John Philoponus, an Alexandrian philosopher and grammarian of the highest reputation; and hence he has been considered by many as the author of this sect, whose members have consequently derived from him the title of Philoponists [q]. The Tritheists.

[o] Jo. Bapt. Cotelerius, Ad Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ, tom. iii. p. 641. Mich. Le Quien, Ad Damascenum de Hæresibus, tom. i. p. 107. Forbes, Instructiones Historico-Theolog. lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 119. Photius, Bibliothec. cod. 230. p. 882.

[p] See Gregor. Abulpharajus, in Assemani Bibloth. Orient. tom. i. p. 328.

[q] See Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. lib. v. cap. xxxvii. p. 358. Harduini Concilia, tom. iii. p. 1288. Timotheus, De Receptione Hæreticorum in Cotelerii Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ, tom. iii. p. 414. Jo. Damascenus, De Hæresibus, tom. i. opp. p. 103. edit. Le Quien.

This sect was divided into two parties, the Philoponists and the Cononites; the latter of whom were so called from Conon, bishop of Tarsus, their chief [r]. They agreed in the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead, and differed only in their manner of explaining what the scriptures taught concerning the resurrection of the body. Philoponus maintained, that the form, as well as the matter, of all bodies, was generated and corrupted, and that both therefore were to be restored in the resurrection. Conon held, on the contrary, that the body never lost its form; that its matter alone was subject to corruption and decay, and was consequently to be restored when "this mortal shall put on immortality."

A third faction was that of the Damianists, who were so called from Damian, bishop of Alexandria, and whose opinion concerning the Trinity was different from those already mentioned. They distinguished the divine essence from the three persons, viz. the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. They denied that each person was God, when considered in itself, and abstractedly from the other two; but they affirmed, at the same time, that there was a common divinity, by the joint participation of which each person was God. They therefore called the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, hypostases, or persons, and the Godhead, which was common to them all, substance or nature [s].

[r] Photii [illegible] Cod. xxiv. Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. [illegible]

[s] Jos. Sim[illegible]. Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 78. 332, &c.

THE

SEVENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the Church during this Century.

I. In this century the progress of Christianity was mightily accelerated both in the eastern and western hemispheres, and its divine light was diffused far and wide through the darkened nations. The Nestorians, who dwelt in Syria, Persia, and India, contributed much to its propagation in the east, by the zeal and diligence, the laborious efforts and indefatigable assiduity, with which they preached it to those fierce and barbarous nations, who lived in the remotest borders and deserts of Asia, and among whom, as we learn from authentic records, their ministry was crowned with remarkable success. It was by the labours of this sect, that the light of the gospel first penetrated into the immense empire of China, about the year 637, when Jesuiabas of Gadala was at the head of the Nestorians, as will appear probable to those who look upon as genuine the famous Chinese monument, which was discovered at

The Christian religion introduced into China.

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Siganfu, by the Jesuits during the last century [*a*]. Some, indeed, look upon this monument to be a mere forgery of the Jesuits, though, perhaps, without reason: there are, however, other unexceptionable proofs, that the northern parts of China, even before this century, abounded with Christians, who, for many succeeding ages, were under the inspection of a metropolitan sent them by the Chaldean or Nestorian patriarch [*b*].

[*a*] This celebrated monument has been published and explained by several learned writers, particularly by Kircher, in his China Illustrata, p. 53; by Muller, in a treatise published at Berlin in 1672; by Eusebe Renaudot, in his Relations anciennes des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, p. 228—271, published at Paris in the year 1718, in 8vo: and by Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. cap. iv. sect. 7. p. 538. We were promised a still more accurate edition of this famous monument by the learned Theoph. Sigifred Bayer, the greatest proficient of this age in Chinese erudition; but his death has blasted our expectations. For my part, I see no reason to doubt of the genuineness of this monument, nor can I understand what advantage could redound to the Jesuits from the invention of such a fable. See Liron, Singularités Historiques et Litteraires, tom. ii. p. 500.

[*b*] See Renaudot, l. c. p. 56. 68, &c. Assemanni Biblioth. &c. cap. ix. p. 522: the learned Bayer, in his preface to his Museum Sinicum, p. 84, assures us that he has in his hands such proofs of the truth of what is here affirmed, as puts the matter beyond all doubt. ☞ See on this subject a very learned dissertation published by M. de Guignes in the thirtieth volume of the Mémoires de Litterature tirés des Registres de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, in which he proves that the Christians were settled in China so early as the seventh century. He remarks, indeed, that the Nestorians and other Christians were for a long time confounded in the Chinese annals with the worshippers of Fo, an Indian idol, whose rites were introduced into China about sixty-five years after the birth of Christ; and that this circumstance has deceived De la Croze, Beausobre, and some other learned men, who have raised specious objections against the hypothesis that maintains the early introduction of Christianity into this great empire. A reader, properly informed, will lend little or no attention to the ac-

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II. The attention and activity of the Greeks were so entirely occupied by their intestine divisions, that they were little solicitous about the progress of Christianity. In the west, Augustin laboured to extend the limits of the church, and to spread the light of the gospel among the Anglo-Saxons; and, after his death, other monks were sent from Rome, to exert themselves in the same glorious cause. Their efforts were attended with the desired success, and the efficacy of their labours was manifested in the conversion of the six Anglo-Saxon kings, who had hitherto remained under the darkness of the ancient superstitions, to the Christian faith, which gained ground by degrees, and was, at length, embraced universally throughout all Britain [c]. We are not, however, to imagine that this universal change in favour of Christianity was wholly due to the discourses of the Roman monks and doctors; for other causes were certainly instrumental in accomplishing this great event. And it is not to be doubted, that the influence which some Christian queens and ladies of high distinction had over their husbands, and the pains they took to convert them to Christianity, as also the severe and rigorous laws that were afterwards enacted against idolaters [d], contributed much to the progress of the gospel.

The English converted.

III. Many of the British, Scotch, and Irish ecclesiastics travelled among the Batavian, Belgic, and German nations, with the pious intention of

As also the Gauls, the Suevi, the Frieslanders, the Franks, and the Helvetii.

count given of this matter by Voltaire in the first volume of his Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, &c. A poet, who recounts facts, or denies them, without deigning to produce his authorities, must not expect to meet with the credit that is due to a historian.

[c] Bedæ Historia Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglor. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 91. cap. xiv. p. 116. lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 162, &c. edit. Chifleti. Rapin Thoyras, tom. i. p. 227.

[d] Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 222.

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propagating the knowledge of the truth, and of erecting churches and forming religious establishments every where. This was the true reason which induced the Germans, in after-times, to found so many convents for the Scotch and Irish, of which some are yet in being [*e*].

Columban, an Irish monk, seconded by the labours of a few companions, had happily extirpated, in the preceding century, the ancient superstitions in Gaul, and the parts adjacent, where idolatry had taken the deepest root; he also carried the lamp of celestial truth among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks, and other German nations [*f*], and persevered in these pious and useful labours until his death, which happened A. D. 615. St. Gal, who was one of his companions, preached the gospel to the Helvetii, and the Suevi [*g*]. St. Kilian set out from Scotland, the place of his nativity, and exercised the ministerial function with such success among the eastern Franks, that vast numbers of them embraced Christianity [*h*]. Towards the conclusion of this century, the famous Willibrord, by birth an Anglo-Saxon, accompanied with eleven of his countrymen, viz. Suidbert, Wigbert, Acca, Wilibald, Unibald, Lebwin, the two Ewalds, Werenfrid, Marcellin, and Adalbert, crossed over into Batavia, which lay opposite to Britain, in order to convert the Frieslanders to the religion of Jesus. From thence, in the year 692, they

[*e*] See the Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. Febr. p. 362.

[*f*] Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ordinis Benedicti, tom. ii. p. 560. tom. iii. p. 72. 339. 500. Adamanni lib. iii. De S. Columbano, in Canisii Lection. Antiq. tom. i. p. 674.

[*g*] Walafridi Strabonis Vit. S. Galli in Mabillon, Actis SS. Ord. Benedict. tom. ii. p. 228. Canisii Lection. Antiq. tom. i. p. 783.

[*h*] Vita S. Kiliani in Canisii Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 171. Jo. Pet. de Ludewig, Scriptores Rerum Wurzburgens. p. 966.

went into Fosteland, which most writers look upon to have been the same with the isle of Helgoland, or Heiligland; but being cruelly treated there by Radbod, king of the Frieslanders, who put Wigbert, one of the company, to death, they departed hence for Cimbria, and the adjacent parts of Denmark. They, however, returned to Friesland, A. D. 693, and were much more successful than they had formerly been in opposing the ancient superstitions, and propagating the knowledge of the truth. Willebrord was ordained, by the Roman pontiff, archbishop of Wilteburgh, now Utrecht, and died among the Batavians in a good old age; while his associates continued to spread the light of the gospel among the Westphalians, and the neighbouring countries [*i*].

The judgment we are to form of these apostles.

IV. These voyages, and many others, undertaken in the cause of Christ, carry, no doubt, a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the impartial and attentive inquirer after truth will find it impossible to form the same favourable judgment of them all, or to applaud, without distinction, the motives that animated these laborious missionaries. That the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their characters without reproach, is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain, that this was neither the case of them all, nor even of the greatest part of them. Many of them discovered, in the course of their ministry, the most turbulent passions, and dishonoured the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty. They abused the power which they had received from the Roman pontiffs, of forming religious establishments among the superstitious nations; and, instead of gaining

[*i*] Alcuini Vita Willibrordi in Mabillon, Actis SS. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. iii. part I. p. 603. Jo. Molleri Cimbria Litterata, tom. ii. p. 980.

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souls to Christ, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious proselytes; and exercised a princely authority over the countries where their ministry had been successful. Nor are we to consider as entirely groundless, the suspicions of those who allege that many of the monks, desirous of rule and authority, concealed their vices under the mask of religion, and endured for a certain time the austerities of a rigid mortification and abstinence, merely with a view to rise in the church to the episcopal dignity.

The Jews compelled to embrace Christianity.

V. The conversion of the Jews seemed at a stand in this century; few or none of that obstinate nation embraced the gospel in consequence of an inward conviction of its truth, though in many places they were barbarously compelled, by the Christians, to make an outward and feigned profession of their faith in Christ. The emperor Heraclius, incensed against that miserable people by the insinuations, as it is said, of the Christian doctors, persecuted them in a cruel manner, and ordered multitudes of them to be inhumanly dragged into the Christian churches, in order to be baptized by violence and compulsion [*k*]. The same odious method of converting was practised in Spain and Gaul, by the monarchs of those nations, against which even the bishops of Rome expressed their displeasure and indignation. Such were the horrid and abominable practices to which an ignorance of the true spirit of Christianity, and the barbarous genius of this age, led the heralds of that divine religion, which was designed to spread abroad charity upon earth, and to render mankind truly and rationally free.

[*k*] Eutychii Annales Ecclesiast. Alexandr. tom. ii. p. 212.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

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I. THE Christians suffered less in this than in the preceding centuries. They were sometimes persecuted by the Persian monarchs, but still recovered their former tranquillity after transitory scenes of violence and oppression. In England, the new converts to Christianity suffered various calamities under the petty kings, who governed in those boisterous times; but these kings embraced the gospel themselves, and then the sufferings of the Christians ceased. In the eastern countries, and particularly in Syria and Palestine, the Jews, at certain times, attacked the Christians with a merciless fury [*l*]; but, however, with so little success, that they always had reason to repent of their temerity, which was severely chastised. It is true, the church had other enemies, even those who, under the treacherous profession of Christianity, were laying secret schemes for the restoration of paganism; but they were too weak and too inconsiderable to form any attempts that could endanger the Christian cause.

II. But a new and most powerful enemy to the Christian cause started up in Arabia, A. D. 612, under the reign of Heraclius. This was Mahomet, an illiterate man [*m*], but endowed by

Mahomet appears.

[*l*] Eutychii Annales, tom. ii. p. 236. Jo. Henr. Hottingeri Historia Orientalis, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 129.

[*m*] Mahomet himself expressly declared, that he was totally ignorant of all branches of learning and science, and was even unable either to write or read: and his followers have drawn from this ignorance an argument in favour of the divinity of his mission, and of the religion he taught. It is, however, scarcely credible, that his ignorance was such as it is

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nature with the most flowing and attractive eloquence, and with a vast and penetrating genius [n], distinguished also by the advantages he enjoyed from the place of his birth, which added a lustre to his name and his undertakings. This adventurous impostor declared publicly, that he was commissioned, by God, to destroy polytheism and idolatry, and then to reform, first the religion of the Arabians, and afterwards the Jewish and Christian worship. For these purposes he delivered a new law, which is known by the name of the Koran [o], or Alcoran; and having gained se-

here described, and several of his sect have called in question the declarations of their chief relating to this point. See Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 33, 34. If we consider that Mahomet carried on, for a considerable time, a successful commerce in Arabia, and the adjacent countries, this alone will convince us, that he must have been, in some measure, instructed in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the knowledge of which a merchant cannot dispense.

[n] The writers to whom we are indebted for the accounts of the life and religion of Mahomet, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his Delectus et Syllabus Argumentor. pro Veritate Relig. Christianæ, cap. i. p. 733. To which we may add, Boulainvilliers, Vie de Mahomet, published at London, in 8vo. in the year 1730, and which deserves rather the character of a romance than of a history; Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, printed at Amsterdam in two volumes 8vo. in 1732, and commendable both for the learning and candour with which it appears to have been composed; and above all, the most learned and judicious Sale's Preliminary Discourse, prefixed to his English Translation of the Koran, sect. ii. p. 37.

[o] For an account of the Koran, see principally the learned Sale's Preface to his English translation of that work. See also, Vertot's Discours sur l'Alcoran, which is subjoined to the third volume of his History of the Knights of Malta, and Chardin's Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 281. The book which the Mahometans call the Koran, or Alcoran, is composed of several papers and discourses of Mahomet, which were discovered and collected after his death, and is by no means that same law whose excellence Mahomet vaunted so highly. That some parts of the true Koran may be copied in the modern one, is indeed very possible; but that the Koran,

veral victories over his enemies, he compelled an incredible multitude of persons, both in Arabia and the neighbouring nations, to receive his doctrine, and range themselves under his standards. Elated with this rapid and unexpected success, he extended yet farther his ambitious views, and formed the vast and arduous project of founding an empire. Here again success crowned his adventurous efforts; and his plan was executed with such intrepidity and impudence, that he died master of all Arabia, besides several adjacent provinces.

What judgment we are to form of Mahomet.

III. It is, perhaps, impossible, at this time, to form such an accurate judgment of the character, views, and conduct of Mahomet, as would entirely satisfy the curiosity of a sagacious inquirer after truth. To give entire credit to the Grecian writers in this matter is neither prudent nor safe, since their bitter resentment against this hostile invader led them to invent, without scruple or hesitation, fables and calumnies to blacken his character. The Arabians, on the other hand, are as little to be trusted to, as their historians are destitute of veracity and candour, conceal the vices and enormities of their chief, and represent him as the most divine person that ever appeared upon earth, and as the best gift of God to the world. Add to this, that a considerable part of Mahomet's life, and, indeed, that part of it that would be the most proper to lead us to a true

or Law, given by Mahomet to the Arabians, is entirely distinct from the modern Alcoran, is manifest from this, that in the latter, Mahomet appeals to, and extols the former, and therefore they must be two different compositions. May it not be conjectured that the true Koran was an Arabic poem, which Mahomet recited to his followers without giving it to them in writing, ordering them only to commit it to their memory? Such were the laws of the Druids in Gaul, and such also those of the Indians, which the Brahmins receive by oral tradition, and get by heart.

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knowledge of his character, and of the motives from which he acted, is absolutely unknown. It is highly probable, that he was so deeply affected with the odious and abominable superstition which dishonoured his country, that it threw him into a certain fanatical disorder of mind, and made him really imagine that he was supernaturally commissioned to reform the religion of the Arabians, and to restore among them the worship of one God. It is, however, at the same time, undoubtedly evident, that, when he saw his enterprize crowned with the desired success, he made use of impious frauds to establish the work he had so happily begun, deluded the giddy and credulous multitude by various artifices, and even forged celestial visions to confirm his authority, and remove the difficulties that frequently arose in the course of his affairs. This mixture of imposture is by no means incompatible with a spirit of enthusiasm; for the fanatic, through the unguided warmth of zeal, looks often upon the artifices that are useful to his cause as pious and acceptable to the Supreme Being; and therefore deceives when he can do it with impunity [*p*]. The religion which Mahomet taught, is certainly different from what it would have been, if he had met with no opposition in the propagation of his opinions. The difficulties he had to encounter obliged him to yield, in some respects, to the reigning systems; the obstinate attachment of the Arabians to the religion of their ancestors, on the one hand, and the fond hope of gaining over to his cause both the Jews and Christians on

[*p*] This, methinks, is the best way of adjusting the controversy that has been carried on by some learned men upon this curious question, viz. Whether Mahomet was a fanatic, or an impostor? See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Mahomet. Ockley's Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, by the Saracens, vol. i. p. 62. Sale's Preface to his Translation of the Alcoran, sect. 2. p. 39.

the other, engaged, no doubt, this fanatical impostor to admit into his system several tenets, which he would have rejected without hesitation, had he been free from the restraints of ambition and artifice.

The causes which contributed to the rapid progress of the Mahometan religion.

IV. The rapid success which attended the propagation of this new religion was owing to causes that are plain and evident, and must remove, or rather prevent our surprise, when they are attentively considered. The terror of Mahomet's arms, and the repeated victories which were gained by him and his successors, were, no doubt, the irresistible argument that persuaded such multitudes to embrace his religion, and submit to his dominion. Besides, his law was artfully and marvellously adapted to the corrupt nature of man; and, in a more particular manner, to the manners and opinions of the eastern nations, and the vices to which they were naturally addicted; for the articles of faith which it proposed were few in number, and extremely simple; and the duties it required were neither many nor difficult, nor such as were incompatible with the empire of appetites and passions [q]. It is to be observed further, that the gross ignorance, under which the Arabians, Syrians, Persians, and the greatest part of the eastern nations, laboured at this time, rendered many an easy prey to the artifice and eloquence of this bold adventurer. To these causes of the progress of Mahometism, we may add the bitter dissensions and cruel animosities that reigned among the Christian sects, particularly the Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monophysites, dissensions that filled a great part of the east with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities, as rendered the very name

[q] See Reland, De Religione Mahumedica. Sale's Preliminary Discourse.

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of Christianity odious to many. We might add here that the Monophysites and Nestorians, full of resentment against the Greeks, from whom they had suffered the bitterest and most injurious treatment, assisted the Arabians in the conquest of several provinces [r], into which, of consequence, the religion of Mahomet was afterwards introduced. Other causes of the sudden progress of that religion will naturally occur to such as consider attentively its spirit and genius, and the state of the world at this time.

The treatment which the Christians received from the Mahometans.

V. After the death of Mahomet, which happened A. D. 632, his followers, led on by an amazing intrepidity, and a fanatical fury, and assisted, as we have already observed, by those Christians whom the Greeks had treated with such severity, extended their conquests beyond the limits of Arabia, and subdued Syria, Persia, Egypt, and other countries under their dominion. On the other hand, the Greeks, exhausted with civil discords, and wholly occupied by intestine troubles, were unable to stop these intrepid conquerors in their rapid career.

For some time these enthusiastic invaders used their prosperity with moderation, and treated the Christians, and particularly those among them who rejected the decrees of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, with the utmost indulgence and lenity. But as an uninterrupted course of success and prosperity renders, too generally, corrupt mortals insolent and imperious, so the moderation of this victorious sect degenerated by degrees into severity; and they treated the Christians, at length, rather like slaves than citizens, loading them with insupportable taxes, and oblig-

[r] See Ockley's Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, by the Saracens, the first part of which was published at London in the year 1708, and the second in 1717.

ing them to submit to a variety of vexatious and oppressive measures.

The Mahometans divided.

VI. The progress, however, of this triumphant sect received a considerable check by the civil dissensions which arose among them immediately after the death of Mahomet. Abubeker and Ali, the former the father-in-law, and the latter the son-in-law, of this pretended prophet, aspired both to succeed him in the empire which he had erected. Upon this arose a tedious and cruel contest, whose flame reached to succeeding ages, and produced that schism which divided the Mahometans into two great factions, whose separation not only gave rise to a variety of opinions and rites, but also excited the most implacable hatred, and the most deadly animosities. Of these factions, the one acknowledged Abubeker as the true calif, or successor of Mahomet, and its members were distinguished by the name of Sonnites; while the other adhered to Ali, and were known by the title of Schiites [*s*]. Both, however, adhered to the Alcoran as a divine law, and the rule of faith and manners; to which, indeed, the former added, by way of interpretation, the sonna, *i. e.* a certain law which they looked upon as descended from Mahomet by oral tradition, and which the Schiites refused to admit. Among the Sonnites, or followers of Abubeker, we are to reckon the Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Africans, and the greatest part of the Indian Mahometans; whereas the Persians, and the subjects of the grand Mogul, are generally considered as the followers of Ali; though the latter indeed seem rather to observe a strict neutrality in this contest.

[*s*] See Reland, De Religione Turcica, lib. i. p. 36. 70. 74. 85. Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 236.

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Besides these two grand factions, there are other subordinate sects among the Mahometans, which dispute with warmth concerning several points of religion, though without violating the rules of mutual toleration [*t*]. Of these sects there are four, which far surpass the rest in point of reputation and importance.

[*t*] For an account of the Mahometan sects, see Hottinger, Histor. Orient. lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 340. Ricaut, Etat de l'Empire Ottoman, livr. ii. p. 242. Chardin's Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 236. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, sect. viii. p. 151.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy, during this Century.

The state of learning.

I. NOTHING can equal the ignorance and darkness that reigned in this century; the most impartial and accurate account of which will appear incredible to those who are unacquainted with the productions of this barbarous period. Any remains of learning and philosophy that yet survived were, a few particular cases excepted, to be found principally among the Latins, in the obscure retreats of cloistered monks. The monastic institutions prohibited the election of any abbot to the head of a convent, who was not a man of learning, or, at least, endowed with a tolerable measure of the erudition of the times. The monks were obliged to consecrate certain hours every day to reading and study; and, that they might improve this appointment to the most advantageous purposes, there were, in most of the monasteries, stated times marked out, at which they were to assemble, in order to communicate to each other the fruits of their study, and to discuss the matters upon which they had been reading [*a*]. The youth also, who were destined for the service of the church, were obliged to prepare themselves for their ministry by a diligent application to study; and in this they were

[*a*] See Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. Benedicti, tom. ii. p. 479. 513.

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directed by the monks, one of whose principal occupations it was to preside over the education of the rising priesthood.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these institutions were of little use to the advancement of solid learning, or of rational theology, because very few in these days were acquainted with the true nature of the liberal arts and sciences, or with the important ends which they were adapted to serve; and the greatest part of those who were looked upon as learned men threw away their time in reading the marvellous lives of a parcel of fanatical saints, instead of employing it in the perusal of well-chosen and excellent authors. They, who distinguished themselves most by their taste and genius, carried their studies little farther than the works of Augustin, and Gregory the Great; and it is of scraps collected out of these two writers, and patched together without much uniformity, that the best productions of this century are entirely composed.

The ignorance of the bishops.

II. The sciences enjoyed no degree of protection, at this time, from kings and princes, nor did they owe any thing to men of high and eminent stations in the empire. On the other hand, the schools which had been committed to the care and inspection of the bishops, whose ignorance and indolence were now become enormous, began to decline apace, and were, in many places, fallen into ruin [*b*]. The bishops in general were so illiterate, that few of that body were capable of composing the discourses which they delivered to the people. Such of them as were not totally destitute of genius composed out of the writings of Augustin and Gregory, a certain number of insipid homilies, which they divided between themselves and their stupid colleagues, that they

[*b*] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iii. p. 428.

might not be obliged through incapacity to discontinue preaching the doctrines of Christianity to their people, as appears evident by the examples of Cæsarius bishop of Arles, and Eloi bishop of Noyon [*c*]. There is yet extant a summary of theological doctrine, which was unskilfully compiled by Taion, bishop of Saragossa, from the writings of Augustin and Gregory; and which was so highly exalted in this illiterate age, that its author was called, by the rest of the bishops, the true salt of the earth, and a divine light that was sent to illuminate the world [*d*]. Many such instances of the ignorance and barbarity of this century will occur to those who have any acquaintance with the writers it produced. England, it is true, was happier in this respect than the other nations of Europe, which was principally owing to Theodore of Tarsus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards, who was appointed archbishop of Canterbury, and contributed much to introduce, among the English, a certain taste for literary pursuits, and to excite in that kingdom a zeal for the advancement of learning [*e*].

The sciences and the art of writing sunk into barbarity and corruption.

III. In Greece, the fate of the sciences was truly lamentable. A turgid eloquence, and an affected pomp and splendor of style, which cast a perplexing obscurity over subjects in themselves the most clear and perspicuous, was now the highest point of perfection to which both prose writers and poets aspired. The Latin eloquence was still vastly below that of the Greeks; it had not spirit

☞ [*c*] In the original we read Eligius Noviomagensis, which is a mistake either of the author, or printer. It is probable that Noviomagensis has slipt from the pen of Dr. Mosheim, in the place of Noviodunensis; for Eloi was bishop of Noyon, and not of Nimeguen.

[*d*] Mabillon, Analecta Veteris Ævi, tom. i. p. 42.

[*e*] Wilkin's Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 42. Conringii Antiquitat. Academicæ, p. 277.

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enough even to be turgid, and, a few compositions excepted, was sunk to the very lowest degree of barbarity and corruption. Both the Greek and Latin writers, who attempted historical compositions, degraded most miserably that important science. Moschus and Sophronius among the former; and among the latter Braulio, Jonas an Hibernian, Audœnus, Dado, and Adamannus, wrote the lives of several saints; or rather a heap of insipid and ridiculous fables, void of the least air of probability, and without the smallest tincture of eloquence. The Greeks related, without discernment or choice, the most vulgar reports that were handed about concerning the events of ancient times; and hence that multitude of absurd fables, which the Latins afterwards copied from them with the utmost avidity.

The fate of philosophy.

IV. Among the Latins philosophy was at its lowest ebb. If there were any that retained some faint reluctance to abandon it entirely, such confined their studies to the writings of Boetius and Cassiodorus, from which they committed to memory a certain number of phrases and sentences; and that was all their philosophical stock. The Greeks, abandoning Plato to the monks, gave themselves entirely up to the direction of Aristotle, and studied, with eagerness, the subtilties of his logic, which were of signal use in the controversies carried on between the Monophysites, the Nestorians, and Monothelites. All these different sects called the Stagirite to their assistance, when they were to plead their cause, and to defend their doctrines. Hence it was, that James, bishop of Edessa, who was a Monophysite, translated, in this century, the dialectics of Aristotle into the Syriac language [*f*].

[*f*] See Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. i. p. 498.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government during this Century.

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I. THE disputes about pre-eminence, that had so long subsisted between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, proceeded, in this century, to such violent lengths, as laid the foundations of that deplorable schism, which afterwards separated the Greek and Latin churches. The most learned writers, and those who are most remarkable for their knowledge of antiquity, are generally agreed that Boniface III. engaged Phocas, that abominable tyrant, who waded to the imperial throne through the blood of the emperor Mauritius, to take from the bishop of Constantinople the title of œcumenical or universal bishop, and to confer it upon the Roman pontiff. They relate this, however, upon the sole authority of Baronius, for none of the ancient writers have mentioned it. If, indeed, we are to give credit to Anastasius, and Paul Deacon [*g*], something like what we have now related was transacted by Phocas; for when the bishops of Constantinople maintained that their church was not only equal in dignity and authority to that of Rome, but also the head of all the Christian churches, this tyrant opposed their pretensions, and granted the pre-eminence to the church of Rome; and thus was the papal supremacy first introduced.

The disputes about pre-eminence between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

II. The Roman pontiffs used all sorts of methods to maintain and enlarge the authority and pre-eminence which they had acquired by a grant

The supremacy of the former opposed by many.

[*g*] Anastasius, De Vitis Pontificum. Paul. Diacon. De Rebus Gestis Longobard. lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. in Muratorii Scriptor. Rerum Italicar. tom. i. part I. p. 46.

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from the most odious tyrant that ever disgraced the annals of history. We find, however, in the most authentic accounts of the transactions of this century, that not only several emperors and princes, but also whole nations, opposed the ambitious views of the bishops of Rome. The Byzantine history, and the Formulary of Marculfus, contain many proofs of the influence which the civil magistrate yet retained in religious matters, and of the subordination of the Roman pontiffs to the regal authority. It is true, the Roman writers affirm, that Constantine Pogonatus abdicated the privilege of confirming, by his approbation, the election of the bishop of that city; and, as a proof of this, they allege a passage of Anastasius, in which it is said, that according to an edict of Pogonatus, the pontiff, who should be elected, was to be ordained immediately, and without the least delay [*h*]. But every one must see, that this passage is insufficient to prove what these writers assert with such confidence. It is however certain, that this emperor abated, some say remitted the sum, which, since the time of Theodoric, the bishops of Rome had been obliged to pay to the imperial treasury before they could be ordained, or have their election confirmed [*i*].

The ancient Britons and Scots persisted long in the maintenance of their religious liberty; and

[*h*] Anastasii Vit. Pontif. in Bened. p. 146. in Muratorii Scriptor. Rerum Italicar. tom. iii.

[*i*] Anastas. Vit. Pontif. in Agathone, p. 144. compared with Mascovii Hist. German. tom. ii. p. 121. in the annotations. ☞ It will not be amiss to observe here, that by the same edict, which diminished the ordination money paid by the bishops of Rome to the emperor, Constantine resumed the power of confirming the election of the pope, which his predecessors had invested in the exarchs of Ravenna; so that the bishop elect was not to be ordained till his election was notified to the court of Constantinople, and the imperial decree confirming it was received by the electors at Rome. See Anastasius, in his life of Agatho.

neither the threats nor promises of the legates of Rome could engage them to submit to the decrees and authority of the ambitious pontiff, as appears manifestly from the testimony of Bede. The churches of Gaul and Spain attributed as much authority to the bishop of Rome, as they thought suitable to their own dignity, and consistent with their interests; nay, even in Italy, his supreme authority was obstinately rejected, since the bishop of Ravenna, and other prelates, refused an implicit submission to his orders [*k*]. Besides all this, multitudes of private persons expressed publicly, and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition of the Roman pontiffs: and it is highly probable, that the Vaudenses or Vaudois had already, in this century, retired into the valleys of Piedmont, that they might be more at their liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious prelates [*l*].

Vices of the clergy.

III. The progress of vice among the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church was, at this time, truly deplorable; neither bishops, presbyters, deacons, nor even the cloistered monks, were exempt from the general contagion, as appears from the unanimous confession of all the writers of this century that are worthy of credit. In those very places, that were consecrated to the advancement of piety, and the service of God, there was little else to be seen than ghostly ambition, insatiable avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, and a supercilious contempt of the natural rights of the people, with many other vices still more enormous. There reigned also in many places the most bitter dissensions between the bishops and the monks. The former had employed

[*k*] See Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts, tom. ii. p. 6.

[*l*] See Antoine Leger, Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, livr. i. p. 15.

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the greedy hands of the latter to augment the episcopal treasure, and to draw contributions from all parts to support them in their luxury, and the indulgence of their lusts. The monks perceiving this, and also unwilling to serve the bishops in such a dishonourable character, fled for refuge to the emperors and princes, under whose civil jurisdiction they lived; and afterwards, for their further security, had recourse to the protection of the Roman pontiff [*m*]. This protection they readily obtained, and the imperious pontiffs, always fond of exerting their authority, exempted, by degrees, the monastic orders from the jurisdiction of the bishops. The monks, in return for this important service, devoted themselves wholly to advance the interests, and to maintain the dignity of the bishop of Rome. They made his cause their own, and represented him as a sort of god to the ignorant multitude, over whom they had gained a prodigious ascendant by the notion that generally prevailed of the sanctity of the monastic order. It is, at the same time, to be observed, that this immunity of the monks was a fruitful source of licentiousness and disorder, and occasioned the greatest part of the vices with which they were afterwards so justly charged. Such, at least, is the judgment of the best writers upon this subject [*n*].

The state of the monks.

IV. In the mean time the monks were every where in high repute, and their cause was accompanied with the most surprising success, particularly among the Latins, through the protection

[*m*] See Launoii Assertio Inquisitionis in Chartam Immunitatis S. Germani, opp. tom. iii. part I. p. 50. Baluzii Miscellan. tom. ii. p. 159. tom. iv. p. 108. Muratorii Antiq. Italic. tom. ii. p. 944. 949.

[*n*] See Launoii Examen Privilegii S. Germani, tom. iii. part I. p. 282. Wilkins Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 43, 44. 49, &c.

and favour of the Roman pontiff, and their pharisaical affectation of uncommon piety and devotion. The heads of families, striving to surpass each other in their zeal for the propagation and advancement of monkery, dedicated their children to God, by shutting them up in convents, and devoting them to a solitary life, which they looked upon as the highest felicity [o]; nor did they fail to send with these innocent victims a rich dowry. Abandoned profligates, who had passed their days in the most enormous pursuits, and whose guilty consciences filled them with terror and remorse, were comforted with the delusive hopes of obtaining pardon, and making atonement for their crimes, by leaving the greatest part of their fortune to some monastic society. Multitudes, impelled by the unnatural dictates of a gloomy superstition, deprived their children of fertile lands and rich patrimonies, in favour of the monks, by whose prayers they hoped to render the Deity propitious. Several ecclesiastics laid down rules for the direction of the monastic orders. Those among the Latins, who undertook this pious task, were Fructuosus, Isidore, Johannes Gerundinensis, and Columba [p]. The rule of discipline, prescribed by St. Benedict, was not as yet so universally followed as to exclude all others.

V. The writers of this age, who distinguished themselves by their genius or erudition, were very few in number. Among the Greeks the first rank is due to Maximus, a monk, who disputed with great obstinacy and warmth against the Monothelites, composed some illustrations upon the Holy Scriptures, and was, upon the whole, a man of no mean capacity, though unhappy through the impatience and violence of his natural temper. The Greek writers.

[o] Gervais, Histoire de l'Abbé Suger, tom. i. p. 9—16.
[p] Lucæ Holstenii, Codex Regular. tom. ii. p. 225.

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Isychius, bishop of Jerusalem, explained several books of Scripture [q]; and left behind him several Homilies, and some productions of less importance.

Dorotheus, abbot of Palestine, acquired a considerable name by his Ascetic Dissertations, in which he laid down a plan of monastic life and manners.

Antiochus, a monk of Saba in Palestine, and a monk of a very superstitious complexion, composed a Pandect of the Holy Scriptures, *i. e.* a summary or system of the Christian doctrine, which is by no means worthy of the highest commendation.

Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem, was rendered illustrious, and attracted the veneration of succeeding ages, by the controversies he carried on against those who, at this time, were branded with the name of Heretics; and particularly against the Monothelites, of whose doctrine he was the first opposer, and also the fomenter of the dispute which it occasioned [r].

There are yet extant several Homilies, attributed to Andrew, bishop of Crete, which are destitute of true piety and eloquence, and which are, moreover, considered by some writers as entirely spurious.

Gregory, surnamed Pisides, deacon of Constantinople, besides the History of Heraclius and the Avares, composed several poems, and other pieces of too little moment to deserve mention.

Theodore, abbot of Raithu, published a book, which is still extant, against those sects who seemed to introduce corrupt innovations into the Christian religion, by their doctrine relating to the person of Christ.

[q] See Simon, Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 261.

[r] See the Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. Martii ad d. xi. p. 65.

The Latin writers.

VI. Among the Latin writers, a certain number were distinguished from the rest by their superior abilities. Ildefonse, archbishop of Toledo, was reputed for his learning; the Spaniards, however, attribute to him, without foundation, certain treatises concerning the Virgin Mary [*s*].

We have yet extant Two Books of Epistles, written by Desiderius, bishop of Cahors, and published by the learned Canisius.

Eligius, or Eloi, bishop of Limoges, left behind him several Homilies, and some other productions.

Marculf, a Gallic monk, composed Two Books of ecclesiastical Forms, which are highly valuable, as they are extremely proper to give us a just idea of the deplorable state of religion and learning in this century [*t*].

Aldhelm, an English prelate, composed several poems Concerning the Christian life, which exhibit but indifferent marks of genius and fancy [*u*].

Julian Pomerius confuted the Jews, and acquired a name by several other productions, which are neither worthy of much applause nor of utter contempt. To all these we might add Cresconius, whose Abridgment of the Canons is well known; Fredegarius the historian, and a few others.

[*s*] See the Acta Sanctorum, Januar. tom. ii. p. 535.

[*t*] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iii. p. 565.

☞ [*u*] This prelate certainly deserved a more honourable mention than is here made of him by Dr. Mosheim. His poetical talents were by no means the most distinguishing part of his character. He was profoundly versed in the Greek, Latin, and Saxon languages. He appeared also with dignity in the paschal controversy, that so long divided the Saxon and British churches. See Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. vol. i. p. 121.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church, in this Century.

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The deplorable state of religion.

I. In this barbarous age, religion lay expiring under a motley and enormous heap of superstitious inventions, and had neither the courage nor the force to raise her head, or to display her native charms, to a darkened and deluded world. In the earlier periods of the church, the worship of Christians was confined to the one Supreme God, and his Son Jesus Christ; but the Christians of this century multiplied the objects of their devotion, and paid homage to the remains of the true cross, to the images of saints, and to bones, whose real owners were extremely dubious [*w*]. The primitive Christians, in order to excite men to a course of piety and virtue, set before them that heavenly state, and those mansions of misery, which the gospel has revealed as the different portions of the

[*w*] It will not be amiss to quote here a remarkable passage out of The Life of St. Eligius, or Eloi, bishop of Noyon, which is to be found in Dacherius' Spicilegium veter. Scriptor. tom. ii. p. 92. This passage, which is very proper to give us a just idea of the piety of this age, is as follows: "Huic sanctissimo viro inter cetera virtutum suarum miracula id etiam a Domino concessum erat, ut sanctorum martyrum corpora, quæ per tot sæcula abdita populis hactenus habebantur, eo investigante ac nimio ardore fidei indagante, patefacta proderentur." It appears by this passage, that St. Eloi was a zealous relic-hunter, and if we may give credit to the writer of his life, he was very successful at this kind of game, for he smelt and unkennelled the carcases of St. Quintin, St. Plato, St. Crispin, St. Crispinian, St. Lucian, and many more. The bishops of this age, who were either ambitiously desirous of popular applause, or intent upon accumulating riches, and filling their coffers with the oblations of a superstitious people, pretended to be endowed with a miraculous sagacity in discovering the bodies of saints and martyrs.

righteous and the wicked; while the Christians of this century talked of nothing else but a certain fire, which effaced the stains of vice, and purified souls from their corruption. The former taught that Christ, by his sufferings and death, had made atonement for the sins of mortals; the latter seemed, by their superstitious doctrine, to exclude from the kingdom of heaven such as had not contributed, by their offerings, to augment the riches of the clergy or the church [x]. The former were only studious to attain to a virtuous simplicity of life and manners, and employed their principal zeal and diligence in the culture of true and genuine piety; while the latter placed the whole of religion in external rites and bodily exercises. The methods also of solving the difficulties, and dissipating the doubts, that often arose in inquisitive minds, were of a piece with the rest of the superstitious system that now prevailed. The two great and irresistible argu-

[x] St. Eligius, or Eloi, expresses himself upon this matter in the following manner: "Bonus Christianus est, qui ad ecclesiam frequenter venit, et oblationem, quæ in altari Deo offeratur, exhibet; qui de fructibus suis non gustat, nisi prius Deo aliquid offerat; qui, quoties sanctæ solemnitates adveniunt, ante dies plures castitatem, etiam cum propria uxore custodit, ut secura conscientia Domini altare accedere possit; qui postremo symbolum vel orationem Dominicam memoriter tenet.—Redimite animas vestras de pœna, dum habetis in potestate remedia—oblationes et decimas ecclesiis offerte, luminaria sanctis locis, juxta quod habetis, exhibite—ad ecclesiam quoque frequentius convenite, sanctorum patrocinia humiliter expetite—quod si observaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal æterni Judicis venientes dicetis: Da, Domine, quia dedimus." ☞ We see here a large and ample description of the character of a good Christian, in which there is not the least mention of the love of God, resignation to his will, obedience to his laws, or of justice, benevolence, and charity towards men; and in which the whole of religion is made to consist in coming often to the church, bringing offerings to the altar, lighting candles in consecrated places, and such like vain services.

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ments against all doubts, were the authority of the church, and the working of miracles: and the production of these prodigies required no extraordinary degree of dexterity in an age of such gross and universal ignorance.

The expositors of the Holy Scriptures.

II. Few either of the Greeks or Latins applied themselves to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures during this century. There are yet extant some commentaries of Isychius bishop of Jerusalem, upon certain books of the Old Testament, and upon the Epistle to the Hebrews. Maximus published a solution of lxv questions relating to the Holy Scriptures, and other productions of the same nature. Julian Pomerius attempted, but without success, to reconcile the seeming contradictions that are to be found in the sacred writings, and to explain the prophecy of Nahum. All these writers were manifestly inferior to the meanest expositors of modern times. The Grecian doctors, particularly those who pretended to be initiated in the most mysterious depths of theology, were continually hunting after fantastic allegories, as is evident from the Questions of Maximus already mentioned. The Latins, on the contrary, were so diffident of their abilities, that they did not dare to enter these allegorical labyrinths, but contented themselves with what flowers they could pluck out of the rich collections of Gregory and Augustin. Of this we see a manifest example in Paterius' Exposition of the Old and New Testament, which is entirely compiled from the writings of Gregory the Great [*y*]. Among the interpreters of this century, we must not forget Thomas, bishop of

[*y*] This useless production has been usually published with the works of Gregory the Great: in consequence of which, the Benedictine monks have inserted it in their splendid edition of the works of that pontiff, tom. iv. part II.

Heraclea, who gave a second Syriac version of all the books of the New Testament [z].

Didactic theology.

III. While philosophy and theology had scarcely any remains of life, any marks of existence among the Latins, the Greeks were wholly occupied with controversies about certain particular branches of religion, and never once thought of reducing all the doctrines of Christianity into one regular and rational system. It is true, Antiochus, a monk of Palestine, composed a short summary of the Christian doctrine, which he entitled, The Pandect of the Holy Scriptures. It is, however, easy to perceive what sort of an author he was, how void of dignity and true judgment, from many circumstances, and particularly from that rueful poem which is subjoined to his work; in which he deplores, in lamentable strains, the loss of that precious fragment of the true cross, which is said to have been carried away by the Persians, among other spoils. The most elegant and judicious summary of theology that appeared among the Latins in this century was the Treatise of Ildefonse, De Cognitione Baptismi, which was saved, by Baluzius, from the ruins of time; a work, indeed, which is not extremely necessary, since the impious frauds of superstition have been so fully brought to light, though it contains remarkable proofs, that many of the corrupt additions and inventions, which disfigure Christianity in the popish churches, were not contrived till after this period [a]. The dry and insipid body

[z] Jos. Sim. Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 93, 94.

[a] See Baluzii Miscellanea, tom. vi. p. 1. From the work of Ildefonsus it appears evident, that the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation was absolutely unknown to the Latins in this century; see C. 137. p. 99; that the Holy Scriptures were in the hands of all Christians, and were perused

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of divinity, composed by Taio, or Tago, bishop of Saragossa, under the title of Five Books of Sentences, and compiled from the writings of Gregory and Augustin, is scarcely worthy of mention, though, in this century, it was considered as an admirable and immortal work [*b*].

Several particular branches of doctrine were treated by the theological writers of this age: Thus Maximus wrote concerning the Nature of Theology, and the Manifestation of the Son in the Flesh, and also concerning the Two Natures in Christ; and Theodore Raithu composed a treatise concerning Christ's Incarnation. But a small acquaintance with the state of learning and religion at this period will enable us to form a just, though disadvantageous idea of the merit of these performances, and also of their authors.

Moral writers.

IV. The moral writers of this century, and their miserable productions, show too plainly to what a wretched state that noble and important science was now reduced. Among these moralists, the first rank is due to Dorotheus, author of the Ascetic Dissertations; Maximus; Aldhelm; Hesychius; Thalassius; and some others; yet, even in their productions, what groveling notions do we find! what rubbish! what a heap of superstitious fancies! and how many marks of extravagance, perplexity, and doubt! Besides, the laity had little reason to complain of the severity of their moral directors, whose custom it was to reduce all the obligations of

by them without the least molestation or restraint, C. 80. p. 59. Ildefonsus, it is true, is zealous in banishing reason and philosophy from religious matters; he, however, establishes the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the ancient doctors as the supreme tribunals before which all theological opinions are to be tried, p. 14. 22.

[*b*] See Mabillon, Analecta Veteris Ævi, tom. ii. p. 68.

Christianity to the practice of a small number of virtues, as appears from Aldhelm's Treatise concerning the eight principal Virtues. Nor was the neglect of these duties attended with such penalties as were proper to restrain offenders. The false notions also, which prevailed in this age, tended much to diminish a just sense of the nature and obligation of virtue; for the solitude of the monastic life, though accompanied with no marks of solid and genuine piety, was deemed sufficient to atone for all sorts of crimes, and was therefore honoured among the Latins with the title of the second baptism; which circumstance alone may serve to show us the miserable state of Christianity at this time. The greatest part of the Grecian and Oriental monks laboured to arrive at a state of perfection by mere contemplation, and studiously endeavoured to form their temper and characters after the model of Dionysius, the chief of the Mystics.

The renewal of penitential discipline.

V. Theodore of Tarsus, a Grecian monk, restored among the Latins the discipline of penance, as it is commonly termed, which had been for a long time almost totally neglected, and enforced it by a body of severe laws borrowed from the Grecian canons. This zealous prelate, being raised beyond his expectation to the see of Canterbury, A. D. 668, formed and executed several pious and laudable projects; and among other things reduced to a regular science that branch of ecclesiastical law, which is known by the name of penitential discipline. He published a Penitential, which was entirely new to the Latin world, by which the clergy were taught to distinguish sins into various classes, according as they were more or less heinous, private or public; to judge of them and determine the degrees of their guilt by their nature and consequences; the intention of the offender; the time and place in which they

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were committed; and the circumstances with which they were attended. This new Penitential contained also the methods of proceeding with respect to offenders; pointed out the penalties that were suitable to the various classes of transgressions; prescribed the forms of consolation, exhortation, and absolution; and described, in an ample and accurate manner, the duties and obligations of those who were to receive the confessions of the penitent [c]. This new discipline, though of Grecian origin, was eagerly adopted by the Latin churches; and in a short space of time, passed from Britain into all the western provinces, where the book of Theodore became the model of all other penitentials, and was multiplied in a vast number of copies. The duration of this discipline was but transitory; for, in the eighth century, it began to decline, and was, at length, entirely supplanted by what was called the new canon of indulgences.

The state of polemic theology.

VI. The doctors who opposed the various sects are scarcely worthy of mention, and would deserve still less an attentive perusal, did not their writings contribute to illustrate the history of the times in which they lived. Nicias composed two books against the Gentiles; and Photius informs us, that a certain writer, whose name is unknown, embarked in the same controversy, and supported the good cause by a prodigious number of arguments drawn from ancient records and monuments [d]. Julian Pomerius exerted his polemic talent against the Jews. The views

[c] The Penitential of Theodore is yet extant, though maimed and imperfect, in an edition published at Paris in the year 1679, in 4to. by Petit; and enriched with learned dissertations and notes of the editor. We have also the cxx Capitula Ecclesiast. Theodor. published in Dacherius' Spicilegium, tom. ix. and in the Concilia Harduini, tom. iii. p. 1771.

[d] Biblioth. Cod. clxx. p. 379.

of Timotheus were yet more extensive; for he gave an ample description and a laboured confutation of all the various heresies that divided the church in his book Concerning the Reception of Heretics.

As to the dissensions of the Catholic Christians among themselves, they produced, at this time, few or no events worthy of mention. We shall, therefore, only observe, that in this century were sown the seeds of those fatal discords, which rent asunder the bonds of Christian communion between the Greek and Latin churches; nay, these seeds had already taken root in the minds of the Greeks, to whom the Roman power became insupportable, and the pretensions of the sovereign pontiff odious.

In Britain, warm controversies concerning baptism, the tonsure, and particularly the famous dispute concerning the time of celebrating the Easter festival, were carried on between the ancient Britons, and the new converts to Christianity which Augustin had made among the Anglo-Saxons [e]. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity were not at all affected by these controversies, which, on that account, were more innocent, and less important than they would have

[e] Cummani Epistola in Jac. Usserii Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicar. p. 23. Bedæ Historia Ecclesiast. gentis Anglor. lib. iii. cap. xxv. Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britann. tom. i. p. 37. 42. Acta Sanctor. Februar. tom. iii. p. 21. 84. ☞ See also Dr. Warner's Ecclesiastical History of England, books II. and III. This history, which has lately appeared, deserves the highest applause, on account of that noble spirit of liberty, candour, and moderation, that seems to have guided the pen of the judicious author. It were, at the same time, to be wished, that this elegant historian had less avoided citing authorities, and been a little more lavish of that erudition which he is known to possess: for then after having surpassed Collier in all other respects, he would have equalled him in that depth and learning, which are the only meritorious circumstances of his partial and disagreeable history.

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otherwise been. Besides, they were entirely terminated in the eighth century, in favour of the Anglo-Saxons, by the Benedictine monks [*f*].

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

Religious rites multiplied.

I. In the council of Constantinople, which was called Quinisextum [*g*], the Greeks enacted several laws concerning the ceremonies that were to be observed in divine worship, which rendered their ritual, in some respects, different from that of the Romans. These laws were publicly received by all the churches, which were established in the dominions of the Grecian emperors; and also by those which were joined with them in communion and doctrine, though under the civil jurisdiction of barbarian princes. Nor was this all: for every Roman pontiff added something new to the ancient rites and institutions, as if it was an essential mark of their zeal for religion, and of their pious discharge of the ministerial function, to divert the multitude with new shows and new spectacles of devout mummery. These superstitious inventions were, in the time of Charlemagne, propagated from Rome among the other Latin churches, whose subjection to the Roman ritual was necessary to satisfy the ambitious demands of the lordly pontiff.

[*f*] Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. iii. Benedict. p. 2. ☞ See also Dr. Warner's Ecclesiast. Hist. book III.

☞ [*g*] This council was called Quinisextum, from its being considered as a supplement to the fifth and sixth councils of Constantinople, in which nothing had been decreed concerning the morals of Christians, or religious ceremonies.

II. It will not be improper to select here a few out of the many instances we could produce of the multiplication of religious rites in this century. The number of festivals under which the church already groaned was now augmented; a new festival was instituted in honour of the true cross on which Christ suffered, and another in commemoration of the Saviour's ascension into heaven. Boniface V. enacted that infamous law, by which the churches became places of refuge to all who fled thither for protection; a law which procured a sort of impunity to the most enormous crimes, and gave a loose rein to the licentiousness of the most abandoned profligates. Honorius employed all his diligence and zeal in embellishing churches, and other consecrated places, with the most pompous and magnificent ornaments; for as neither Christ, nor his apostles, had left any injunctions of this nature to their followers, their pretended vicar thought it but just to supply this defect by the most splendid display of his ostentatious beneficence. We shall pass in silence the riches and variety of the sacerdotal garments that were now used at the celebration of the eucharist, and in the performance of divine worship, as this would lead us into a tedious detail of minute and unimportant matters.

Some examples of this addition to the ritual.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this century.

I. THE Greeks were engaged, during this century, in the most bitter and virulent controversy with the Paulicians, whom they considered as a branch of the Manichean sect, and who were settled in Armenia and the adjacent coun-

The remains of the ancient sects.

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tries. This dispute was carried to the greatest height under the reigns of Constans, Constantine Pogonatus, and Justinian II.; and the Greeks were not only armed with arguments, but were also seconded by the force of military legions, and the terror of penal laws. A certain person, whose name was Constantine, revived, under the reign of Constans, the drooping faction of the Paulicians, which was now ready to expire; and propagated with great success its pestilential [*h*] doctrines. But this is not the place to enlarge upon the tenets and history of this sect, whose origin is attributed to Paul and John, two brothers, who revived and modified the doctrine of Manes. As it was in the ninth century that the Paulicians flourished most, and acquired strength sufficient to support the rigours of an open and cruel war with the Greeks, we shall reserve a more particular account of them for our history of that period.

Paulicians.

Arians.

II. In Italy, the Lombards preferred the opinions of the Arians to the doctrine which was established by the council of Nice. In Gaul and in England, the Pelagian and Semi-pelagian controversies continued to excite the warmest animosities and dissensions. In the eastern provinces, the ancient sects, which had been weakened and oppressed by the imperial laws, but neither totally extirpated nor destroyed, began, in many places, to raise their heads, to recover their vigour, and to gain proselytes. The terror of penal laws had obliged them, for some time, to seek their safety in their obscurity, and therefore to conceal their opinions from the public eye; but as soon as they saw the fury or the power of their

Pelagians.

[*h*] Photius, lib. i. contra Manich. p. 61. Petri Siculi Historia Manich. p. 41. Georg. Cedrenus, Compend. Hist. p. 431. edit. Venet.

adversaries diminish, their hopes returned, and their courage was renewed.

III. The condition, both of the Nestorians and Monophysites, was much more flourishing under the Saracens, who were now become lords of the east, than it had been hitherto under the Christian emperors, or even the Persian monarchs. These two sects met with a distinguished protection from their new masters, while the Greeks suffered under the same sceptre all the rigours of persecution and banishment. Jesuiabas, the sovereign pontiff of the Nestorians, concluded a treaty, first with Mahomet, and afterwards with Omar, by which he obtained many signal advantages for his sect [*i*]. There is yet extant a Testamentary Diploma of Mahomet, in which he promises and bequeaths to the Christians in his dominions, the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, together with their temporal advantages and possessions. Some learned men have, indeed, called in question the authenticity of this deed; it is, however, certain, that the Mahometans unanimously acknowledge it to be genuine [*k*]. Accordingly, the successors of Mahomet in Persia, employed the Nestorians in the most important

Nestorians and Monophysites.

[*i*] Jos. Simon. Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 94.

[*k*] This famous Testament of Mahomet was brought from the east, during the last century, by Pacificus Scaliger, a Capuchin monk, and was published first in Arabic and Latin at Paris, by Gabriel Sionita, A. D. 1630, afterwards in Latin by the learned Fabricius, A. D. 1638; and also by Hinckelman, A. D. 1690. See Henr. Hottinger. Hist. Orient. lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 237. Assemanni Bibl. Orient. Vat. tom. iii. part II. p. 95. Renaudot, Histor. Patriarchar. Alexandr. p. 168. They who, in conformity with the opinion of Grotius, reject this Testament, suppose it forged by the Syrian and Arabian monks, with a view to soften the Mahometan yoke under which they groaned, and to render their despotic masters less severe. Nor is this representation of the matter at all incredible; for it is certain, that the monks of mount Sinai formerly showed an edict of Mahomet of the same nature with the one now under consideration,

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affairs, both of the cabinet and of the provinces, and suffered the patriarch of that sect only to reside in the kingdom of Babylon [*l*]. The Monophysites enjoyed in Syria and Egypt an equal degree of favour and protection. Amrus, having made himself master of Alexandria, in the year 644, fixed Benjamin, the pontiff of the Monophysites, in the episcopal residence of that noble city; and from this period, the Melchites [*m*] were without a bishop for almost a whole century [*n*].

which they pretend was drawn up by him while he was yet in a private station. This edict was extremely advantageous to them, and was undoubtedly an artful piece of forgery. The fraud was plain; but the Mahometans, in consequence of their ignorance and stupidity, believed it to be a genuine production of their chief, and continue still in the same opinion. There is an account of this fraud given by Cantimir in his Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, tom. ii. p. 269. The argument therefore which Renaudot and others draw in favour of the Testament in question, from the acknowledgment which the Mahometans make of its authenticity, is of little or no weight: since the Mahometans of all others are the most liable to be deceived in things of this nature by their gross and unparalleled ignorance. On the other hand, several of the arguments used by those who deny the authenticity of this Testament, are equally unsatisfactory; that particularly, which is drawn from the difference that there is between the style of this deed and that of the Alcoran, proves absolutely nothing at all: since it is not essential to the genuineness of this Testament to suppose it penned by Mahomet himself, because the impostor might have employed a secretary to compose it. But let this Testament be genuine or spurious, it is undeniably certain that its contents were true, since many learned men have fully proved that Mahomet, at his first setting out, prohibited, in the strongest manner, the commission of all sorts of injuries against the Christians, and especially the Nestorians.

[*l*] Assemanni. l. c. p. 97. Euseb. Renaud. Histor. Patriarch. Alexandr. p. 163. 169.

[*m*] The Melchites were those Christians in Syria, Egypt, and the Levant, who, though not Greeks, followed the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church. They were called Melchites, *i. e.* Royalists, by their adversaries, by way of reproach, on account of their implicit submission to the edict of the emperor Marcian, in favour of the council of Chalcedon.

[*n*] Euseb. Renaud. Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr. p. 168.

IV. Though the Greek church was already torn asunder by the most lamentable divisions, yet its calamities were far from being at an end. A new sect arose, A. D. 630, under the reign of the emperor Heraclius, which, in a short space of time, excited such violent commotions as engaged the eastern and western churches to unite their forces in order to its extinction. The source of this tumult was an unseasonable plan of peace and union. Heraclius, considering, with pain, the detriment which the Grecian empire had suffered by the migration of the persecuted Nestorians, and their settlement in Persia, was ardently desirous of reuniting the Monophysites to the bosom of the Greek church, lest the empire should receive a new wound by their departure from it. Pursuant to this idea, he held a conference during the Persian war, A. D. 622, with a certain person named Paul, a man of great credit and authority among the Armenian Monophysites; and another, at Hierapolis, in the year 629, with Athanasius, the Catholic or bishop of that sect, upon the methods that seemed most proper to restore tranquillity and concord to a divided church. Both these persons assured the emperor, that they who maintained the doctrine of one nature might be induced to receive the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and thereby to terminate their controversy with the Greeks, provided that the latter would give their assent to the truth of the following proposition, viz. "that in Jesus Christ there was, after the union of the two natures, but one will and one operation." Heraclius communicated this matter to Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, who was a Syrian by birth, and whose parents adhered to the doctrine of the Monophysites. This prelate gave it as his opinion, that the doctrine of one will and one operation after the union of the

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two natures, might be safely adopted without the least injury to truth, or the smallest detriment to the authority of the council of Chalcedon. In consequence of this, the emperor published an edict, A. D. 630, in favour of that doctrine, and hoped, by this act of authority, to restore peace and concord, both in church and state [o].

The progress of their doctrine.

V. The first reception of this new project was promising, and things seemed to go on smoothly. For though some ecclesiastics refused submitting to the imperial edict; yet Cyrus and Athanasius, the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, received it without hesitation; and the see of Jerusalem was at that time vacant [p]. As to the Roman pontiff, he was entirely overlooked in the matter, as his consent was not considered as at all necessary in an affair that related only to the eastern church. In the mean time, Cyrus, who had been promoted by Heraclius from the see of Phasis to that of Alexandria, assembled a council, by the seventh decree of which, the doctrine of Monothelitism, or one will, which the emperor had introduced by the edict already mentioned, was solemnly confirmed. This new modification of the doctrine of the council of Chalcedon, which seemed to bring it nearer to the Eutychian system, had the desired effect upon the Monothelites, and induced great numbers of them, who were dispersed in Egypt, Armenia, and other remote provinces, to return into the bosom of the church. They, however, explained the perplexed and ambiguous doctrine of one will in

[o] The authors, who have written concerning this sect, are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his Biblioth. Græc. vol. x. p. 204. The account which I have here given of them is drawn from the fountain head, and is supported by the best authorities.

[p] See Lequien, Oriens Christianus, tom. iii. p. 264.

Christ, in a manner peculiar to themselves, and not quite conformable to the true principles of their sect.

The opposition it met with.

VI. This smiling prospect of peace and concord was, however, but transitory, and was unhappily succeeded by the most dreadful tumults, excited by a monk of Palestine, whose name was Sophronius. This monk, being present at the council assembled at Alexandria by Cyrus, in the year 633, had violently opposed the decree, which confirmed the doctrine of one will in Christ. His opposition, which was then treated with contempt, became more formidable the following year; when, raised to the patriarchal see of Jerusalem, he summoned a council, in which the Monothelites were condemned as heretics, who revived and propagated the Eutychian errors concerning the mixture and confusion of the two natures in Christ. Multitudes, alarmed at the cry of heresy raised by this seditious monk, adopted his sentiments; but it was Honorius, the Roman pontiff, that he laboured principally to gain over to his side. His efforts, however, were vain: for Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, having informed Honorius, by a long and artful letter, of the true state of the question, determined that pontiff in favour of the doctrine, which maintained one will and one operation in Christ [*q*]. Hence arose those obstinate con-

[*q*] The Roman Catholic writers have employed all their art and industry to represent the conduct of Honorius in such a manner as to save his pretended infallibility from the charge of error in a question of such importance. (See among others, Harduin, De Sacramento Altaris, which is published in his Opera Selecta, p. 255.) And, indeed, it is easy to find both matter of accusation and defence in the case of this pontiff. On the one hand, it would appear that he himself knew not his own sentiments, nor attached any precise and definite meaning to the expressions he used in the course of this controversy. On the other hand, it is certain, that he gave it

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tests which rent the church into two sects, and the state into two factions.

The contests occasioned by the Ecthesis and the Type.

VII. In order to put an end to these commotions, Heraclius issued out, in the year 639, the famous edict composed by Sergius, and called the Ecthesis, or exposition of the faith, in which all controversies, upon the question, whether in Christ there was one or two operations, were strictly prohibited, though in the same edict the doctrine of one will was plainly inculcated. A considerable number of the eastern bishops declared their assent to this new law, which was also submissively received by their chief Pyrrhus, who, upon the death of Sergius in the year 639, was raised to the see of Constantinople. In the west, the case was quite different. John, the fourth Roman pontiff of that name, assembled a council at Rome, A. D. 639, in which the Ecthesis was rejected, and the Monothelites condemned. Nor was this all: for, in the progress of this contest, a new edict, known by the name of Type, or Formulary, was published in the year 648, by the emperor Constans, by the advice of Paul of Constantinople [r], by which the Ecthesis was suppressed, and the contending parties commanded to terminate their disputes concerning the

as his opinion, that in Christ there was but one will and one operation. It was for this that he was condemned in the council of Constantinople, and he must of consequence be undoubtedly a heretic, if it is true that general councils cannot err. See Bossuet, in his Defence of the Declaration made by the Gallican Clergy, in the year 1682, concerning Ecclesiastical Power, part II. lib. xii. cap. xxi. p. 182. See also Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 391.

☞ [r] It is proper to observe here, that Paul, who was a Monothelite in his heart, and had maintained the Ecthesis with great zeal, fell upon this prudent measure with a view to appease the Roman pontiff and the African bishops, who were incensed against him to the highest degree, on account of his attachment to the doctrine of one will.

one will, and the one operation in Christ, by observing a profound silence upon that difficult and ambiguous subject. This silence, which was so wisely commanded in a matter which it was impossible to determine to the satisfaction of the contending parties, appeared highly criminal to the angry and contentious monks. They, therefore, excited Martin, bishop of Rome, to oppose his authority to an edict which hindered them from propagating strife and contention in the church; and their importunities had the desired effect; for this prelate, in a council of an hundred and five bishops assembled at Rome, A. D. 649, condemned both the Ecthesis and the Type, though without any mention of the names of the emperors who had published those edicts, and thundered out the most dreadful anathemas against the Monothelites and their patrons, who were solemnly consigned to the devil and his angels.

The sixth general council.

VIII. The emperor Constans, justly irritated at these haughty and impudent proceedings of Martin, who treated the imperial laws with such contempt, ordered him to be seized and carried into the isle of Naxos, where he was kept prisoner a whole year. This order, which was followed with much cruel treatment, was executed by Calliopas, exarch of Italy, in the year 650; and at the same time, Maximus, the ringleader of the seditious monks, was banished to Bizyca; and other rioters of the same tribe were differently punished in proportion to the part they acted in this rebellion. These resolute proceedings rendered Eugenius and Vitalianus, the succeeding bishops of Rome, more moderate and prudent than their predecessor had been; especially the latter, who received Constans, upon his arrival at Rome in the year 663, with the highest marks of distinction and respect, and used the wisest precautions

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to prevent the flame of that unhappy controversy from breaking out a second time. And thus, for several years it appeared to be extinguished; but it was so only in appearance; it was a lurking flame, which spread itself secretly, and gave reason to those who examined things with attention, to dread new combustions both in church and state. To prevent these, Constantine Pogonatus, the son of Constans, pursuant to the advice of Agatho, the Roman pontiff, summoned, in the year 680, the sixth general, or œcumenical council, in which he permitted the Monothelites and Pope Honorius himself to be solemnly condemned in presence of the Roman legates, who represented Agatho in that assembly, and confirmed the sentence pronounced by the council, by the sanction of penal laws enacted against such as pretended to oppose it.

A short view of the doctrine of the Monothelites.

IX. It is difficult to give a clear and accurate account of the sentiments of those who were called Monothelites; nor is it easy to point out the objections of their adversaries. Neither of the contending parties express themselves consistently with what seem to have been their respective opinions; and they both disavow the errors with which they reciprocally charge each other. The following observations contain the clearest notion we can form of the state of this subtile controversy. 1. The Monothelites declared, that they had no connexion with the Eutychians and Monophysites; but maintained, in opposition to these two sects, that in Christ there were two distinct natures; which were so united, though without the least mixture or confusion, as to form by their union only one person. 2. They acknowledged that the soul of Christ was endowed with a will, or faculty of volition, which it still retained after its union with the divine nature. For they taught

that Christ was not only perfect God, but also perfect man: from whence it followed, that his soul was endowed with the faculty of volition. 3. They denied that this faculty of volition in the soul of Christ, was absolutely unactive, maintaining, on the contrary, that it co-operated with the divine will. 4. They, therefore, in effect, attributed to our Lord two wills, and these, moreover, operating and active. 5. They, however, affirmed, that, in a certain sense, there was in Christ but one will and one manner of operation.

Different opinions among that sect.

X. We must not indeed imagine, that all, who were distinguished by the title of Monothelites, were unanimous in their sentiments with respect to the points now mentioned. Some, as appears from undoubted testimonies, meant no more than this, that the two wills in Christ were one, *i. e.* in perfect harmony; that the human will was in perpetual conformity with the divine, and was, consequently, always holy, just, and good; in which opinion there is nothing reprehensible. Others, approaching nearer to the sentiment of the Monophysites, imagined that the two wills or faculties of volition in Christ were blended into one, in that which they called the personal union; acknowledging, at the same time, that the distinction between these two wills was perceivable by reason, and that it was also necessary to distinguish carefully in this matter. The greatest part of this sect, and those who were also the most remarkable for their subtilty and penetration, were of opinion, that the human will of Christ was the instrument of the divine; or, in other words, never operated or acted of itself, but was always ruled, influenced, and impelled by the divine will; in such a manner, however, that when it was once set in motion, it decreed and operated with the ruling principle. The doctrine of one

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will and one operation in Christ, which the Monothelites maintained with such invincible obstinacy, was a natural consequence of this hypothesis; since the operation of an instrument and of the being who employs it, is one simple operation, and not two distinct operations or energies. According to this view of things, the Eutychian doctrine was quite out of the question; and the only point of controversy to be determined, was, whether the human will in Christ was a self-moving faculty determined by its own internal impulse; or whether, on the contrary, it derived all its motion and operations from the divine?

In the mean time, we may learn from this controversy, that nothing is more precarious, and nothing more dangerous and deceitful, than that religious peace and concord which are founded upon ambiguous doctrines, and cemented by obscure and equivocal propositions, or articles of faith. The partisans of the council of Chalcedon endeavoured to ensnare the Monophysites, by proposing their doctrine in a manner that admitted of a double explication; and by this imprudent piece of cunning, that showed so little reverence for the truth, they involved both church and state in tedious and lamentable divisions.

Their fate after the council of Constantinople.

XI. The doctrine of the Monothelites, condemned and exploded by the council of Constantinople, found a place of refuge among the Mardaites, a people who inhabited the mounts Libanus and Antilibanus, and who, about the conclusion of this century, were called Maronites, after Maro their first bishop, a name which they still retain. None of the ancient writers give any certain account of the first person who instructed these Mountaineers in the doctrine of the Monothelites; it is probable, however, from several

circumstances, that it was John Maro, whose name they had adopted [*s*]. One thing, indeed we know, with the utmost certainty, from the testimony of Tyrius and other unexceptionable witnesses, as also from the most authentic records, and that is, that the Maronites retained the opinions of the Monothelites until the twelfth century, when abandoning and renouncing the doctrine of one will in Christ, they were re-admitted, in the year 1182, to the communion of the Roman church. The most learned of the modern Maronites have left no method unemployed to defend their church against this accusation; they have laboured to prove, by a variety of testimonies, that their ancestors always persevered in the Catholic faith, in their attachment to the Roman pontiff, without ever adopting the doctrine either of the Monophysites or Monothelites. But all their efforts are insufficient to prove the truth of these assertions to such as have any acquaintance with the history of the church, and the records of ancient times; for to all such, the testimonies they allege will appear absolutely fictitious and destitute of authority [*t*].

[*s*] This ecclesiastic received the name of Maro, from his having lived in the character of a monk in the famous convent of St. Maro, upon the borders of the Orontes, before his settlement among the Mardaites of mount Libanus. For an ample account of this prelate, see Jos. Simon. Assemanni Bibliothec. Orient. Clement. Vatic. tom. i. p. 496.

[*t*] The cause of the Maronites has been pleaded by the writers of that nation, such as Abraham Echellensis, Gabriel Sionita, and others, but the most ample defence of their uninterrupted orthodoxy was made by Faust. Nairon, partly in his Dissertatio de Origine, Nomine, ac Religione Marionitarum, published at Rome, A. D. 1679, and partly in his Euoplia Fidei Catholicæ ex Syrorum et Chaldæorum Monumentis, published in the same city in 1624. None of the learned, however, were persuaded by his arguments, except Pagi * and La Rocque, of whom the latter has given us in his Voyage de Syrie et de Montliban, tom.

* See Critica Baroniana ad a 694.

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The council called Quinisextum.

XII. Neither the sixth general council, in which the Monothelites were condemned, nor the fifth, which had been assembled in the preceding century, had determined any thing concerning ecclesiastical discipline, or religious ceremonies. To supply this defect, a new assembly of bishops was held, pursuant to the order of Justinian II. in a spacious hall of the imperial palace called Trullus, *i. e.* Cupola, from the form of the building. This council, which met A. D. 692, was called Quinisextum, as we had occasion to observe formerly, from its being considered, by the Greeks, as a supplement to the fifth and sixth œcumenical councils, and as having given to the acts of these assemblies the degree of perfection which they had hitherto wanted. There are yet extant an hundred and two laws, which were enacted in this council, and which related to the external celebration of divine worship, the government of the church, and the lives and manners of Christians. Of these there are six which are diametrically opposite to several opinions and rites of the Romish church; for which reason the Roman pontiffs have refused to adopt, without restriction, the decisions of this council, or to reckon it in the number of those called œcume-

ii. p. 28—128. a long dissertation concerning the origin of the Maronites. Even the learned Assemannus, himself a Maronite, and who has spared no pains to defend his nation * against the reproach in question, acknowledges ingenuously, that among the arguments used by Nairon and others in favour of the Maronites, there are a great many destitute of force. See Jo. Morinus, De Ordinat. Sacris, p. 380. Rich. Simon, Histoire Critique des Chretiens Orientaux, chap. xiii. p. 146. Euseb. Renaudot, Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor. p. 149. and Præf. ad Litturgias Orientales. Le Brun, Explication de la Messe, tom. ii. p. 626. Paris, 1726. The arguments of the contending parties are enumerated impartially, in such a manner as leaves the decision to the reader by Le Quien, in his Oriens Christianus, tom. iii. p. 10.

* See Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. i. p. 496.

nical, though they look upon the greatest part of its decrees as worthy of applause [*u*].

[*u*] See Franc. Pagi Breviar. Pontif. Roman. tom. i. p. 486. Christ. Lupus, Dissertat. de Concilio Trullano, in Notis et Dissertat. ad Concilia, tom. iii. opp. p. 168. The Roman catholics reject the following decisions of this council: 1. The fifth canon, which approves of the eighty-five apostolical canons commonly attributed to Clement. 2. The thirteenth canon, which allows the priests to marry. 3. The fifty-fifth canon, which condemns the sabbath fast, that was an institution of the Latin church. 4. The sixty-seventh canon, which prescribes the most rigorous abstinence from blood and things strangled. 5. The eighty-second canon, which prohibits the representing Christ under the image of a lamb. 6. The thirty-sixth canon, concerning the equal rank and authority of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK THE THIRD.

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

FROM

CHARLEMAGNE

TO

THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER.

THE

EIGHTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the Church during this Century.

I. WHILE the Mahometans were infesting with their arms, and adding to their conquests, the most flourishing provinces of Asia, and obscuring as far as their influence could extend, the lustre and glory of the rising church, the Nestorians of Chaldea were carrying the lamp of Christianity among those barbarous nations, called Scythians by the ancients, and by the moderns, Tartars, who, independent on the Saracen yoke, had fixed their habitations within the limits of mount Imaus [*a*]. The gospel propagated in Hyrcania and Tartary.

☞ [*a*] The southern regions of Scythia were divided by the ancients (to whom the northern were unknown) into three parts, namely, Scythia within, and Scythia beyond Imaus, and Sarmatia. It is of the first of these three that Dr. Mosheim speaks as enlightened at this time with the knowledge of the gospel; and it comprehended Turkestan and Mongal, the Usbek or Zagata, Kalmuc and Nogaian Tartary, which were peopled by the Bactrians, Sogdians, Gandari, Sacs, and Massagetes, not to mention the land of Siberia, Samoiedes, and Nova Zembla, which were uninhabited in ancient times.

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It is now well known, that Timotheus, the Nestorian pontiff, who had been raised to that dignity, A. D. 778, converted to the Christian faith, by the ministry of Subchal Jesu, whom he had consecrated bishop, first the Gelæ and Dailamites, by whom a part of Hyrcania was inhabited; and afterwards, by the labours of other missionaries, the rest of the nations, who had formed settlements in Hyrcania, Bactria, Margiana, and Sogdia [*b*]. It is also certain, that Christianity enjoyed, in these vast regions, notwithstanding the violent attacks of the Mahometans to which it was sometimes exposed, the advantages of a firm and solid establishment for a long course of ages; while the bishops, by whose ministry it was propagated and supported, were all consecrated by the sole authority of the Nestorian pontiff.

The Germans converted by Boniface.

II. If we turn our eyes towards Europe, we find many nations that were as yet unenlightened with the knowledge of the gospel. Almost all the Germans (if we except the Bavarians, who had embraced Christianity under Theodoric, or Thierry, the son of Clovis, and the eastern Franks, with a few other provinces) lay buried in the grossest darkness of pagan superstition. Many attempts were made, by pious and holy men, to infuse the truth into the minds of these savage Germans; and various efforts were used for the same purpose by kings and princes, whose interest it was to propagate a religion that was so adapted to mitigate and tame the ferocity of these warlike nations; but neither the attempts of pious zeal, nor the efforts of policy, were attended with success. This great work was, however, effected in this century, by the ministry of Winfrid, a

[*b*] Thomas Margensis, Historiæ Monasticæ lib. iii. in Jos. Sim. Assemanni Bibliotheca Orient. Vatic. tom. iii. pars I. p. 491. See also this latter work, tom. iii. pars II. cap. ix. sect. 5. p. 478.

Benedictine monk, born in England of illustrious parents, and afterwards known by the name of Boniface. This famous ecclesiastic, attended by two companions of his pious labours, passed over into Friesland, A. D. 715, to preach the gospel to the people of that country, but this first attempt was unsuccessful; and a war breaking out between Radbod, the king of that country, and Charles Martel, our zealous missionary returned to England. He resumed, however, his pious undertaking in the year 719: and being solemnly impowered by the Roman pontiff, Gregory II. to preach the gospel not only in Friesland, but all over Germany, he performed the functions of a Christian teacher among the Thuringians, Friesianders, and Hessians, with considerable success [*c*].

Other pious exploits of this famous missionary, and his advancement in the church.

III. This eminent missionary was, in the year 723, consecrated bishop by Gregory II. who changed the name of Winfrid into that of Boniface; seconded also by the powerful protection, and encouraged by the liberality of Charles Martel, mayor of the palace to Chilperic, king of France, he resumed his ministerial labours among the Hessians and Thuringians, and finished with glory the task he had undertaken, in which he received considerable assistance from a number of pious and learned men, who repaired to him from England and France. As the Christian churches erected by Boniface were too numerous to be governed by one bishop, this prelate was advanced to the dignity of archbishop, in the year 738, by Gregory III. by whose authority, and the auspicious protection of Carloman and Pepin, the

[*c*] An ample account of this eminent man is to be found in a learned dissertation of Gudenius, De S. Bonifacio Germanorum Apostolo, published in 4to at Helmstad in the year 1722. See also Jo. Al. Fabricii Biblioth. Latina Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 709. Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. iv. p. 92. Mabillon, in Annalibus Benedictinis, &c.

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sons of Charles Martel, he founded, in Germany, the bishoprics of Wurtzburg, Burabourg, Erfurt, and Aichstadt: to which he added, in the year 744, the famous monastery of Fulda. His last promotion, and the last recompense of his assiduous labours in the propagation of the truth, was his advancement to the archiepiscopal see of Mentz, A. D. 746, by Zachary, bishop of Rome, by whom he was, at the same time, created primate of Germany and Belgium. In his old age, he returned again to Friesland, that he might finish his ministry in the same place where he had entered first upon its functions; but his piety was ill rewarded by that barbarous people, by whom he was murdered in the year 755, while fifty ecclesiastics, who accompanied him in this voyage, shared the same unhappy fate.

The judgment we are to form concerning the apostleship of Boniface.

IV. Boniface, on account of his ministerial labours and holy exploits, was distinguished by the honourable title of the Apostle of the Germans; nor, if we consider impartially the eminent services he rendered to Christianity, will this title appear to have been undeservedly bestowed. But it is necessary to observe, that this eminent prelate was an apostle of modern fashion, and had, in many respects, departed from the excellent model exhibited in the conduct and ministry of the primitive and true apostles. Besides his zeal for the glory and authority of the Roman pontiff, which equalled, if it did not surpass his zeal for the service of Christ, and the propagation of his religion [*d*], many other things unworthy of a

[*d*] The French Benedictine monks ingenuously confess that Boniface was an over zealous partizan of the Roman pontiff, and attributed more authority to him than was just and fitting. Their words, in their Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 106, are as follows: "Il exprime son devouement pour le S. Siege en des termes qui ne sont pas assez proportionés à la dignité du caractere episcopal."

truly Christian minister are laid to his charge. In combating the pagan superstitions, he did not always use those arms with which the ancient heralds of the gospel gained such victories in behalf of the truth; but often employed violence and terror, and sometimes artifice and fraud, in order to multiply the number of Christians. His epistles, moreover, discover an imperious and arrogant temper; a cunning and insidious turn of mind; an excessive zeal for increasing the honours and pretensions of the sacerdotal order; and a profound ignorance of many things of which the knowledge was absolutely necessary in an apostle, and particularly of the true nature and genius of the Christian religion.

Other apostles preach the gospel to the Germans.

V. The famous prelate, of whom we have been now speaking, was not the only Christian minister who attempted to deliver the German nations from the miserable bondage of pagan superstition; several others signalized their zeal in the same laudable and pious undertaking. Corbinian, a French Benedictine monk, after having laboured with vast assiduity and fervour in planting the gospel among the Bavarians, and other countries, became bishop of Friesingen [*e*]. Firmin, a Gaul by birth, preached the gospel under various kinds of suffering and opposition in Alsatia, Bavaria, and Helvetia, now Switzerland, and had inspection over a considerable number of monasteries [*f*]. Lebuin, an Englishman, laboured with the most ardent zeal and assiduity to engage the fierce and warlike Saxons, and also the Frieslanders, Belgæ, and other nations, to receive the light of Christianity; but his ministry was attended with very

[*e*] Baronius, Annal. Eccles. tom. viii. ad an. 716. sect. 10. Car. Maichelbeck, Historiæ Frisingensis tom. i.

[*f*] Herm. Bruschii Chronologia Monaster. German. p. 30. Anton. Pagi Critica in Annales Baronii, tom. ii. ad an. 759. sect. ix. Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 124.

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little fruit [g]. We pass over in silence several apostles of less fame; nor is it necessary to mention Willibrord, and others of superior reputation, who persisted now with great alacrity and constancy in the labours they had undertaken in the preceding century, in order to the propagation of divine truth.

The expedition of Charlemagne against the Saxons.

VI. A war broke out, at this time, between Charlemagne and the Saxons, which contributed much to the propagation of Christianity, though not by the force of a rational persuasion. The Saxons were, at this time, a numerous and formidable people, who inhabited a considerable part of Germany, and were engaged in perpetual quarrels with the Franks concerning their boundaries, and other matters of complaint. Hence Charlemagne turned his arms against this powerful nation, A. D. 772, with a design not only to subdue that spirit of revolt with which they had so often troubled the empire, but also to abolish their idolatrous worship, and engage them to embrace the Christian religion. He hoped, by their conversion, to vanquish their obstinacy, imagining that the divine precepts of the gospel would assuage their impetuous and restless passions, mitigate their ferocity, and induce them to submit more tamely to the government of the Franks. These projects were great in idea, but difficult in execution; accordingly, the first attempt to convert the Saxons, after having subdued them, was unsuccessful, because it was made, without the aid of violence, or threats, by the bishops and monks, whom the victor had left among that conquered people, whose obstinate attachment to idolatry no arguments nor exhortations could overcome. More forcible means were afterwards used

[g] Huchbaldi Vita S. Lebuini in Laur. Surii Vitis Sanctor. d. 12. Nov. p. 277. Jo. Mollei Cimbria Litterata, tom. ii. p. 464.

to draw them into the pale of the church, in the wars which Charlemagne carried on, in the years 775, 776, and 780, against that valiant people, whose love of liberty was excessive, and whose aversion to the restraints of sacerdotal authority was inexpressible [*h*]. During these wars, their attachment to the superstition of their ancestors was so warmly combated by the allurements of reward, by the terror of punishment, and by the imperious language of victory, that they suffered themselves to be baptized, though with inward reluctance, by the missionaries, which the emperor sent among them for that purpose [*i*]. These

[*h*] It will be proper here to transcribe, from the epistles of the famous Alcuin, once abbot of Canterbury, a remarkable passage, which will show us the reasons which contributed principally to give the Saxons an aversion to Christianity, and, at the same time, expose the absurd and preposterous manner of teaching used by the missionaries, who were sent to convert them. This passage in the 104th epistle, and the 1647th page of his works, is as follows: "Si tanta instantia leve Christi jugum et onus, ejus leve durissimo Saxonum populo prædicaretur, quanta Decimarum redditi vel legalis, pro parvissimis quibuslibet culpis edictis necessitas exigebatur, forte baptismatis sacramenta non abhorrerent. Sint tandem aliquando Doctores fidei apostolicis eruditi exemplis: sint prædicatores, non prædatores." Here the reader may see a lively picture of the kind of apostles that flourished at this time; apostles who were more zealous in exacting tythes, and extending their authority, than in propagating the sublime truths and precepts of the gospel. And yet these very apostles are said to have wrought stupendous miracles.

[*i*] Alcuinus apud Wilhelmum Malmesbur. De Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 23. inter Rerum Anglicar. Scriptores. Francofurti, A. D. 1601. editos. In this work we find the following passage, which proves what we have said with respect to the unworthy methods that were used in converting the Saxons: "Antiqui Saxones et omnes Fresonum populi, instante Rege Carolo, alios præmiis et alios minis sollicitantes ad fidem Christi conversi sunt." See also two passages in the Capitularia Regum Francor. tom. i. p. 246. and 252. From the first of these passages we learn, that those of the Saxons who abandoned the pagan superstitions were "restored to the liberty

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seditions, indeed, were soon after renewed, and fomented by Widekind and Albion, two of the most valiant among the Saxon chiefs, who attempted to abolish the Christian worship by the same violent methods which had contributed to its establishment. But the courage and liberality of Charlemagne, alternately employed to suppress this new rebellion, engaged these chiefs to make a public and solemn profession of Christianity in the year 785, and to promise an adherence to that divine religion for the rest of their days [*k*]. To prevent, however, the Saxons from renouncing a religion which they had embraced with reluctance, several bishops were appointed to reside among them, schools also were erected, and monasteries founded, that the means of instruction might not be wanting. The same precautions were employed among the Huns in Pannonia, to maintain in the profession of Christianity that fierce people whom Charlemagne had converted

they had forfeited by the fate of arms, and freed from the obligation of paying tribute;" and, in the second, we find the following severe law, that "every Saxon who contemptuously refused to receive the sacrament of baptism, and persisted in his adherence to paganism, was to be punished with death." While such rewards and punishments were employed in the cause of religion, there was no occasion for miracles to advance its progress, for these motives were sufficient to draw all mankind to an hypocritical and external profession of the gospel; but it is easy to imagine what sort of Christians the Saxons must have been, who were dragooned into the church in this abominable manner. Compare with the authors mentioned in this note. Launoius De veteri more baptizandi Judæos et Infideles, cap. v. vi. p. 703. tom. ii. opp. part II. This author assures us, that Adrian, the first Roman pontiff of that name, honoured with his approbation Charlemagne's method of converting the Saxons.

[*k*] Eginartius, De Vita Caroli M. Adam Bremensis, lib. i. cap. viii. See also the writers of the history and exploits of Charlemagne, which are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Latina medii ævi, tom. i. p. 959.

to the faith, when exhausted and dejected by various defeats, they were no longer able to make head against his victorious arms, and chose rather to be Christians than slaves [*l*].

The judgment we ought to form of the conversions made by Charlemagne.

VII. Succeeding generations, filled with a grateful sense of the famous exploits which Charlemagne had performed in the service of Christianity, canonized his memory, and turned this bloody warrior into an eminent saint. In the twelfth century, Frederic I. emperor of the Romans, ordered Paschal II. whom he had raised to the pontificate, to enrol the name of this mighty conqueror among the tutelary saints of the church [*m*]. And indeed Charlemagne merited this honour, according to the opinions which prevailed at that period of time; for to have enriched the clergy with large and magnificent donations [*n*], and to have extended the boundaries of the church, no matter by what methods, was then considered as the highest merit, and as a sufficient pretension to the honour of saintship. But in the esteem of those who judge of the nature and characters of sanctity by the decisions of the gospel upon that head, the sainted emperor will appear utterly unworthy of that ghostly dignity. For, not to enter into a particular detail of his vices, whose number counterbalanced that of his virtues, it is undeniably evident, that his ardent and ill-conducted zeal for the conversion of the Huns, Frieslanders, and Saxons, was more animated by the suggestions of ambition, than by a principle

[*l*] Vita S. Rudberti in Henric. Canisii Lectionibus antiquis, tom. iii. part II. p. 340. Pauli Debreceni Historia Ecclesiæ Reformat. in Hungar. et Transilvania a Lampio edita, part I. cap. ii. p. 10.

[*m*] Vid. Henr. Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ, tom. iii. pars II. p. 207. Walchii Dissert. de Caroli Magni Canonizatione.

[*n*] Vid. Caroli Testamentum in Steph. Baluzii Capitularibus Regum Francor. tom. i. p. 487.

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of true piety; and that his main view in these religious exploits was to subdue the converted nations under his dominion, and to tame them to his yoke, which they supported with impatience, and shook off by frequent revolts. It is, moreover, well known, that this boasted saint made no scruple of seeking the alliance of the infidel Saracens, that he might be more effectually enabled to crush the Greeks, notwithstanding their profession of the Christian religion [*o*].

And of the miracles which are said to have been performed in this century.

VIII. The many and stupendous miracles, which are said to have been wrought by the Christian missionaries, who were sent to convert the barbarous nations, have lost, in our times, the credit they obtained in former ages. The corrupt discipline that then prevailed admitted of those fallacious stratagems, which are very improperly called pious frauds; nor did the heralds of the gospel think it at all unlawful to terrify or allure to the profession of Christianity, by fictitious prodigies, those obdurate hearts, which they could not subdue by reason and argument. It is not, however, to be supposed, that all those, who acquired renown by their miracles, were chargeable with this fanatical species of artifice and fraud. For as, on the one hand, those ignorant and superstitious nations were disposed to look upon, as miraculous, every event which had an unusual aspect; so, on the other, the Christian doctors themselves were so uninstructed and superficial, so little acquainted with the powers of nature, and the relations and connexions of things in their ordinary course, that uncommon events, however natural, were considered by them as miraculous interpositions of the Most High. This will appear obvious to such as, void of superstition and partiality, read

[*o*] See Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, tom. ix. cap. ii. p. 40.

the Acts of the Saints who flourished in this and the following centuries.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

I. THE eastern empire had now fallen from its former strength and grandeur, through the repeated shocks of dreadful revolutions, and the consuming power of intestine calamities. The throne was now become the seat of terror, inquietude, and suspicion; nor was any reign attended with an uninterrupted tranquillity. In this century three emperors were dethroned, loaded with ignominy, and sent into banishment. Under Leo the Isaurian, and his son Constantine, surnamed Copronymus, arose that fatal controversy about the worship of images, which proved a source of innumerable calamities and troubles, and weakened, almost incredibly, the force of the empire. These troubles and dissensions left the Saracens at liberty to ravage the provinces of Asia and Africa, to oppress the Greeks in the most barbarous manner, and to extend their territories and dominion on all sides, as also to oppose every where the progress of Christianity; and, in some places, to extirpate it entirely. But the troubles of the empire, and the calamities of the church did not end here: for about the middle of this century, they were assailed by new enemies, still more fierce and inhuman than those whose usurpations they had hitherto suffered. These were the Turks, a tribe of the Tartars, or at least their descendants, who, breaking forth from the inaccessible wilds about mount Caucasus, overspread Colchis, Iberia, and

The Saracens become masters in the east.

The incursion of the Turks.

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Albania, rushed from thence into Armenia, and, after having subdued the Saracens, turned their victorious arms against the Greeks, whom, in process of time, they reduced under their dominion.

Their progress in the west.

II. In the year 714, the Saracens crossed the sea, which separates Spain from Africa, dispersed the army of Roderic king of the Spanish Goths [*p*], whose defeat was principally due to the treachery of their general Julian, and made themselves masters of the greatest part of the territories of this vanquished prince. About the same time the empire of the Visigoths, which had subsisted in Spain above three hundred years, was totally overturned by these fierce and savage invaders, who also took possession of all the maritime coasts of Gaul, from the Pyrenean mountains to the river Rhone, from whence they made frequent excursions, and ravaged the neighbouring countries with fire and sword.

The rapid progress of these bold invaders was, indeed, checked by Charles Martel, who gained a signal victory over them in a bloody action near the city of Poictiers, A. D. 732 [*q*]. But the vanquished spoilers soon recovered their strength and their ferocity, and returned with new violence to their devastations. This engaged Charlemagne to lead a formidable army into Spain, with a design to deliver that whole country from the oppressive yoke of the Saracens; but this grand enterprize, though it did not entirely miscarry, was not, however, attended with the signal success

[*p*] Jo. Mariana, Rerum Hispanicarum, lib. vi. cap. xxi. Eusebe Renaudot. Histoire Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 253. Jo. de Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 425.

[*q*] Paulus Diaconus, De Gestis Longobard. lib. vi. cap. xlvi. liii. Jo. Mariana, Rerum Hispan. lib. vii. cap. iii. Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Abderamus, Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 463.

that was expected from it [r]. The inroads of this warlike people were felt by many of the western provinces, besides those of France and Spain. Several parts of Italy suffered from their incursions; the island of Sardinia was reduced under their yoke; and Sicily was ravaged and oppressed by them in the most inhuman manner. Hence the Christian religion in Spain and Sardinia suffered inexpressibly under these violent usurpers.

In Germany, and the adjacent countries, the Christians were assailed by another sort of enemies; for all such as adhered to the pagan superstitions beheld them with the most inveterate hatred, and persecuted them with the most unrelenting violence and fury [s]. Hence, in several places, castles and fortresses were erected to restrain the incursions of these barbarian zealots.

[r] Henr. de Bunau, Teutsche Keyser-und Reich's Histoire, tom. ii. p. 392. Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 506.

[s] Servati Lupi Vita Wigberti, p. 304.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy, during this Century.

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The state of learning among the Greeks.

I. THERE were not wanting among the Greeks men of genius and talents, who might have contributed to prevent the total decline of literature; but their zeal was damped by the tumults and desolations that reigned in the empire; and while both church and state were menaced with approaching ruin, the learned were left destitute of that protection which gives both vigour and success to the culture of the arts and sciences. Hence, few or none of the Greeks were at all famous, either for elegance of diction, true wit, copious erudition, or a zealous attachment to the study of philosophy, and the investigation of truth. Frigid homilies, insipid narrations of the exploits of pretended saints, vain and subtle disputes about unessential and trivial subjects, vehement and bombastic declamations for or against the erection and worship of images, histories composed without method or judgment; such were monuments of Grecian learning in this miserable age.

The progress of the Aristotelian philosophy.

II. It must, however, be observed, that the Aristotelian philosophy was taught every where in the public schools, and was propagated in all places with considerable success. The doctrine of Plato had lost all its credit in the schools, after the repeated sentences of condemnation that

had been passed upon the opinions of Origen, and the troubles which the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies had excited in the church; so that Platonism now was almost confined to the solitary retreats of the monastic orders. Of all the writers in this century, who contributed to the illustration and progress of the Aristotelian philosophy, the most eminent was John Damascenus, who composed a concise, plain, and comprehensive view of the doctrines of the Stagirite, for the instruction of the more ignorant, and in a manner adapted to common capacities. This little work excited numbers, both in Greece and Syria, to the study of that philosophy, whose proselytes increased daily. The Nestorians and Jacobites were also extremely diligent in the study of Aristotle's writings, from whence they armed themselves with sophisms and quibbles, which they employed against the Greeks in the controversy concerning the nature and person of Christ.

III. The literary history of the Latins exhibits innumerable instances of the grossest ignorance [*a*], which will not, however, appear surprising to such as consider, with attention, the state of Europe, in this century. If we except some poor remains of learning, which were yet to be found at Rome, and in certain cities of Italy [*b*], the sciences seemed to have abandoned the continent, and fixed their residence in Britain and Ireland [*c*]. Those, therefore, of the Latin writers, who were distinguished by their learning and genius, were all (a few French and Italians

The revival of learning among the Latins by Charlemagne.

[*a*] Vid. Steph. Baluz. Observat. ad Reginonem Prumiensem, p. 540.

[*b*] Lud. Ant. Muratorii Antiq. Italicæ Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 811.

[*c*] Jac. Usserius, Præf. ad Syllogen Epistolarum Hibernicarum.

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excepted) either British or Scotch, such as Alcuin, Bede, Egbert Clemens, Dungallus, Acca, and others. Charlemagne, whose political talents were embellished by a considerable degree of learning, and an ardent zeal for the culture of the sciences, endeavoured to dispel the profound ignorance that reigned in his dominions; in which excellent undertaking he was animated and directed by the councils of Alcuin. With this view he drew, first from Italy, and afterwards from Britain and Ireland, by his liberality, eminent men, who had distinguished themselves in the various branches of literature; and excited the several orders of the clergy and monks, by various encouragements, and the nobility, and others of eminent rank, by his own example, to the pursuit of knowledge in all its branches, human and divine.

Cathedral and monastic schools erected.

IV. In the prosecution of this noble design, the greatest part of the bishops erected, by the express order of the emperor, cathedral schools (so called from their lying contiguous to the principal church in each diocese), in which the youth, which were set apart for the service of Christ, received a learned and religious education. Those also of the abbots, who had any zeal for the cause of Christianity, opened schools in their monasteries, in which the more learned of the fraternity instructed such as were designed for the monastic state, or the sacerdotal order, in the Latin language, and other branches of learning, suitable to their future destination. It was formerly believed that the university of Paris was erected by Charlemagne; but this opinion is rejected by such as have studied, with impartiality, the history of this age; though it is undeniably evident, that this great prince had the honour of laying, in some measure, the foundation of that noble institution; and that the beginnings from which it

arose were owing entirely to him [*d*]. However this question be decided, it is undeniably certain, that the zeal of this emperor for the propagation and advancement of letters, was very great, and manifested its ardour by a considerable number of excellent establishments; nor among others must we pass in silence the famous Palatine school, which he erected with a view to banish ignorance from his court; and in which the princes of the blood, and the children of the nobility, were educated by the most learned and illustrious masters of the times [*e*].

But not attended with the desired success.

V. These excellent establishments were not, however, attended with the desired success; nor was the improvement of the youth, in learning and virtue, at all proportioned to the pains that were taken, and the bounty that was bestowed to procure them a liberal education. This, indeed, will not appear surprising, when we consider, that the most learned and renowned masters of these times were men of very little genius and abilities, and that their system of erudition and philosophy was nothing more than a lean and ghastly skeleton, equally unfit for ornament and use. The whole circle of the sciences was composed of what they called the seven liberal arts, viz. grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy [*f*]; the three former

[*d*] The reasons that have been used, to prove Charlemagne the founder of the university of Paris, are accurately collected in Du Boulay, Historiæ Academiæ Paris, tom. i. p. 91. But they have been refuted by the following learned men in a victorious manner, viz. Mabillon, Act. Sanct. Ord. Benedict. tom. v. Præf. sect. 181, 182. Launoy. Claud. Joly, De Scholis.

[*e*] Boulay, Histor. Academ. Paris. tom. i. p. 281. Mabillon, l. c. sect. 179.

[*f*] Herm. Conringii Antiquitat. Academicæ, Diss. iii. p. 80. Jac. Thomasii Programmata, p. 368. Observation. Halensium. tom. vi. Observ. xiv. p. 118.

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of which they distinguished by the title of trivium, and the four latter by that of quadrivium. Nothing can be conceived more wretchedly barbarous than the manner in which these sciences were taught, as we may easily perceive from Alcuin's treatise concerning them [g]; and the dissertations of St. Augustin on the same subject, which were in the highest repute at this time. In the greatest part of the schools, the public teachers ventured no further than the trivium, and confined their instructions to grammar, rhetoric, and logic: they, however, who, after passing the trivium, and also the quadrivium, were desirous of rising yet higher in their literary pursuits, were exhorted to apply themselves to the study of Cassiodore and Boethius, as if the progress of human knowledge was bounded by the discoveries of those two learned writers.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government during this Century.

The vices of the clergy.

I. THAT corruption of manners, which dishonoured the clergy in the former century, increased, instead of diminishing, in this, and discovered itself under the most odious characters, both in the eastern and western provinces. In the east there arose the most violent dissensions and quarrels among the bishops, and doctors of the church, who, forgetting the duties of their stations, and the cause of Christ in which they were engaged, threw the state into combustion by their

[g] Alcuini Opera, part II. p. 1245, edit. Quercetani. It is, however, to be observed, that the treatise of Alcuin, here referred to, is not only imperfect, but is also almost entirely transcribed from Cassiodore.

outrageous clamours, and their scandalous divisions; and even went so far as to embrue their hands in the blood of their brethren who differed from them in opinion. In the western world, Christianity was not less disgraced by the lives and actions of those who pretended to be the luminaries of the church, and who ought to have been so in reality, by exhibiting examples of piety and virtue to their flock. The clergy abandoned themselves to their passions without moderation or restraint; they were distinguished by their luxury, their gluttony, and their lust; they gave themselves up to dissipations of various kinds, to the pleasures of hunting, and, what was still more remote from their sacred character, to military studies [*h*] and enterprizes. They had also so far extinguished every principle of fear and shame, that they became incorrigible; nor could the various laws enacted against their vices by Carloman, Pepin, and Charlemagne, at all contribute to set bounds to their licentiousness, or to bring about their reformation [*i*].

The veneration in which the clergy were held in the west.

II. It is, indeed, amazing, that, notwithstanding the shocking nature of such vices, especially in a set of men whose profession obliged them to display to the world the attracting lustre of virtuous example; and notwithstanding the perpetual troubles and complaints which these vices occasioned; the clergy were still held, corrupt as they were, in the highest veneration, and were honoured, as a sort of deities, by the submissive multitude. This veneration for the bishops and clergy, and the influence and authority it gave them over the people, were, indeed, carried much higher in the west than in the eastern pro-

[*h*] Steph. Baluzius, ad Reginon. Prumiensem, p. 563. Wilkins, Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 90.

[*i*] Steph. Baluz. Capitular. Regum Francor. tom. i. p. 189. 208. 275. 493. &c.

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vinces; and the reasons of this difference will appear manifest to such as consider the customs and manners that prevailed among the barbarous nations, which were, at this time, masters of Europe, before their conversion to Christianity. All these nations, during their continuance under the darkness of paganism, were absolutely enslaved to their priests: without whose counsel and authority they transacted nothing of the least importance, either in civil or military affairs [*k*]. Upon their conversion to Christianity, they, therefore, thought proper to transfer to the ministers of their new religion, the rights and privileges of their

[*k*] Julius Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 13. "Druides magno sunt apud eos honore: nam fere de omnibus controversiis, publicis privatisque, constituunt; et, si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hæreditate, si de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt, præmia pœnasque constituunt: si qui aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt.—Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa unâ cum reliquis pendunt: militiæ vacationem, omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati præmiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur." Tacitus (De mor. Germanorum, cap. 7. p. 884, edit. Gronov.) expresses also the power and authority of the priests or Druids in the following terms: "Neque enim animadvertere, neque vincire, neque verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus perinissum, non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut Deo imperante." And again cap. ii. "Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus et tum coercendi jus est, imperatur." Helmoldus, Chron. Sclavorum, lib. i. cap. xxxvi. p. 90, expresses himself to the same purpose, "Major Flaminis, quam Regis, apud ipsos veneratio est." And again, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 235. "Rex apud eos modicæ æstimationis est comparatione Flaminis. Ille enim responsa perquirit—Rex et populus ad illius nutum pendent." This ancient custom of honouring their priests, and submitting, in all things, to their decisions, was still preserved by the Germans, and the other European nations, after their conversion to Christianity; and this furnishes a satisfactory answer to that question, viz. How it came to pass that the Christian priesthood obtained in the west that enormous degree of authority, which is so contrary to the positive precepts of Christ, and the nature and genius of his divine religion.

former priests: and the Christian bishops, in their turn, were not only ready to accept the offer, but used all their diligence and dexterity to secure and assert to themselves and their successors, the dominion and authority which the ministers of paganism had usurped over an ignorant and brutish people.

Their riches increased, and their privileges multiplied.

III. The honours and privileges, which the western nations had voluntarily conferred upon the bishops, and other doctors of the church, were now augmented with new and immense accessions of opulence and authority. The endowments of the churches and monasteries, and the revenues of the bishops, were hitherto considerable; but in this century a new and ingenious method was found out of acquiring much greater riches to the church, and of increasing its wealth through succeeding ages. An opinion prevailed universally at this time, though its authors are not known, that the punishment which the righteous judge of the world has reserved for the transgressions of the wicked, was to be prevented and annulled, by liberal donations to God, to the saints, to the churches and clergy. In consequence of this notion, the great and opulent, who were, generally speaking, the most remarkable for their flagitious and abominable lives, offered, out of the abundance which they had received by inheritance, or acquired by rapine, rich donations to departed saints, their ministers upon earth, and the keepers of the temples that were erected in their honour, in order to avoid the sufferings and penalties annexed by the priests to transgression in this life [*l*], and to escape the misery de-

[*l*] The temporal penalties here mentioned were rigorous fasts, bodily pains and mortifications, long and frequent prayers, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and martyrs, and such like austerities. These were the penalties which the

nounced against the wicked in a future state. This new and commodious method of making atonement for iniquity was the principal source of those immense treasures, which, from this period, began to flow in upon the clergy, the churches, and monasteries, and continued to enrich them through succeeding ages down to the present time [*m*].

They are invested with principalities and royal domains.

IV. But here it is highly worthy of observation, that the donations which princes and persons of the first rank presented, in order to made expiation for their sins, and to satisfy the justice of God, and the demands of the clergy, did not only consist in those private possessions, which every citizen may enjoy, and with which the churches and convents were already abundantly enriched: no; these donations were carried to a much more extravagant length, and the church was endowed with several of those public grants, which are peculiar to princes and sovereign states, and which are commonly called regalia, or royal domains. Emperors, kings, and princes, signalized their superstitious veneration for the clergy, by investing bishops, churches, and monasteries, in the possession of whole provinces, cities, castles, and fortresses, with all the rights and prerogatives of sovereignty that were annexed to them under the dominion of their former masters. Hence it

priests imposed upon such as had confessed their crimes; and as they were singularly grievous to those who had led voluptuous lives, and were desirous of continuing in the same course of licentious pleasure, effeminacy, and ease; the richer sort of transgressors embraced eagerly this new method of expiation, and willingly gave a part of their substance to avoid such severe and rigorous penalties.

[*m*] Hence by a known form of speech, they who offered donations to the church or clergy were said to do this for the redemption of their souls, and the gifts themselves were generally called the price of transgression. See Lud. Ant. Muratorii Diss. de Redemptione Peccatorum, in his Antiquitates Italicæ medii ævi, tom. v. p. 712.

came to pass that they, who, by their holy profession, were appointed to proclaim to the world the vanity of human grandeur, and to inspire into the minds of men, by their instructions and their example, a noble contempt of sublunary things, became themselves scandalous spectacles of worldly pomp, ambition, and splendor; were created dukes, counts, and marquises, judges, legislators, and sovereigns; and not only gave laws to nations, but also, upon many occasions, gave battle to their enemies, at the head of numerous armies of their own raising. It is here that we are to look for the source of those dreadful tumults and calamities that spread desolation through Europe in after-times, particularly of those bloody wars concerning investitures, and those obstinate contentions and disputes about the regalia.

The causes of this excessive liberality to the clergy.

V. The excessive donations that were made to the clergy, and that extravagant liberality that augmented daily the treasures of the European churches (to which these donations and this liberality were totally confined) began in this century; nor do we find any examples of the like munificence in preceding times. From hence we may conclude, that these donations were owing to customs peculiar to the European nations, and to the maxims of policy that were established among those warlike people. The kings of these nations, who were employed either in usurpation or self-defence, endeavoured, by all means, to attach warmly to their interests those whom they considered as their friends and clients; and, for this purpose, they distributed among them extensive territories, cities, and fortresses, with the various rights and privileges belonging to them, reserving to themselves no more than the supreme dominion, and also the military service of their powerful vassals. This then being the method of

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governing customary in Europe, it was esteemed by princes a high instance of political prudence to distribute among the bishops, and other Christian doctors, the same sort of donations that they had formerly made to their generals and clients; for it is not to be believed, that superstition alone was always the principle that drew forth their liberality. They expected more fidelity and loyalty from a set of men, who were bound by the obligations of religion, and consecrated to the service of God, than from a body of nobility, composed of fierce and impetuous warriors, and accustomed to little else than bloodshed and rapine. And they hoped also to check the seditious and turbulent spirits of their vassals, and maintain them in their obedience, by the influence and authority of the bishops, whose commands were highly respected, and whose spiritual thunderbolts, rendered formidable by ignorance, struck terror into the boldest and most resolute hearts [*n*].

[*n*] The account here given of the rise of the clergy to such enormous degrees of opulence and authority, is corroborated by the following remarkable passage of William of Malmesbury (lib. v. De Rebus Gestis Regum Angliæ), "Carolus Magnus, pro contundenda gentium illarum ferocia, omnes pene terras ecclesiis contulerat, conciliosissime perpendens, nolle sacri ordinis homines, tam facile quam laicos, fidelitatem Domini rejicere: præterea si laici rebellarent, illos posse excommunicationis auctoritate et potentiæ severitate compescere." This is doubtless the true reason why Charlemagne, who was far from being a superstitious prince, or a slave to the clergy, augmented so vastly the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff in Germany, Italy, and the other countries, where he had extended his conquests, and accumulated upon the bishops such ample possessions. He expected more loyalty and submission from the clergy than from the laity; and he augmented the riches and authority of the former, in order to secure his throne against the assaults of the latter. As the bishops were universally held in the highest veneration, he made use of their influence in checking the rebellious spirit of his dukes, counts, and knights, who were frequently

Particularly to the Roman pontiff.

VI. This prodigious accession to the opulence and authority of the clergy in the west began at their head, the Roman pontiff, and spread gradually from thence among the inferior bishops, and also among the sacerdotal and monastic orders. The barbarous nations, who received the gospel, looked upon the bishop of Rome as the successor of their chief druid, or high priest. And as this tremendous druid had enjoyed, under the darkness of paganism, a boundless authority, and had been treated with a degree of veneration, that, through its servile excess, degenerated into terror; so the barbarous nations, upon their conversion to Christianity, thought proper to confer upon the chief of the bishops the same honours and the same authority that had formerly been vested in their arch-druid [*o*]. The Roman pontiff received, with

very troublesome. Charlemagne, for instance, had much to fear from the dukes of Benevento, Spoleto, and Capua, when the government of the Lombards was overturned: he therefore made over a considerable part of Italy to the Roman pontiff, whose ghostly authority, opulence, and threatenings, were so proper to restrain those powerful and vindictive princes from seditious insurrections, or to quell such tumults as they might venture to excite. Nor was Charlemagne the only prince who honoured the clergy from such political views; the other kings and princes of Europe acted much in the same manner, and from the same principles, as will appear evident to all who consider, with attention, the forms of government, and the methods of governing, that took place in this century. So that the excessive augmentation of sacerdotal opulence and authority, which many look upon as the work of superstition alone, was, in many instances, an effect of political prudence. We shall consider, presently, the terrors of excommunication, which William of Malmesbury touches but cursorily in the latter words of the passage above quoted.

[*o*] Cæsar speaks thus of the chief or arch-druid; "His omnibus druidibus præ est unus, qui summam inter eos (Celtas) habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit. At si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum adlegitur: nonnunquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt." Vide Jul. Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. c. 13.

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something more than a mere ghostly delight, these august privileges: and lest, upon any change of affairs, attempts might be made to deprive him of them, he strengthened his title to these extraordinary honours, by a variety of passages drawn from ancient history, and, what was still more astonishing, by arguments of a religious nature. This conduct of a superstitious people swelled the arrogance of the Roman druid to an enormous size; and gave to the see of Rome that high pre-eminence, and that despotic authority, in civil and political matters, that were unknown to former ages. Hence, among other unhappy circumstances, arose that most monstrous and most pernicious opinion, that such persons as were excluded from the communion of the church by the pontiff himself, or any of the bishops, forfeited thereby not only their civil rights and advantages as citizens, but even the common claims and privileges of humanity. This horrid opinion, which was a fatal source of wars, massacres, and rebellions without number, and which contributed more than any thing else to augment and confirm the papal authority, was, unhappily for Europe, borrowed by Christians, or rather by the clergy, from the pagan superstitions [*p*].

[*p*] Though excommunication, from the time of Constantine the Great, was, in every part of the Christian world, attended with many disagreeable effects, yet its highest terrors were confined to Europe, where its aspect was truly formidable and hideous. It acquired also, in the eighth century, new accessions of terror: so that, from that period, the excommunication practised in Europe differed entirely from that which was in use in other parts of Christendom. Excommunicated persons were indeed considered, in all places, as objects of aversion both to God and men; but they were not, on this account, robbed of the privileges of citizens, nor of the rights of humanity; much less were those kings and princes, whom an insolent bishop had thought proper to exclude from the communion of the church, supposed to forfeit, on that account, their crowns or their terri-

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VII. We see in the annals of the French nation the following remarkable and shocking instance of the enormous power that was, at this time, vested in the Roman pontiff. Pepin, who was mayor of the palace to Childeric III. and who, in the exercise of that high office, was possessed, in reality, of the royal power and authority, not contented with this, aspired to the titles and honours of majesty, and formed the design of dethroning his sovereign. For this purpose, the states of the realm were assembled by Pepin, A. D. 751; and though they were devoted to the interests of this ambitious usurper, they gave it as their opinion, that the bishop of Rome was previously to be consulted, whether the execution

The Roman pontiff obtains an addition to his authority, by favouring the ambition of Pepin.

tories. But, from this century, it was quite otherwise in Europe; excommunication received that infernal power which dissolved all connexions; so that those whom the bishops, or their chief, excluded from church communion, were degraded to a level with the beasts. Under this horrid sentence, the king, the ruler, the husband, the father, nay, even the man, forfeited all their rights, all their advantages, the claims of nature, and the privileges of society What then was the origin of this unnatural power which excommunication acquired? It was briefly as follows: Upon the conversion of the barbarous nations to Christianity, these new and ignorant proselytes confounded the excommunication in use among Christians, with that which had been practised in the times of paganism by the priests of the gods, and considered them as of the same nature and effect. The Roman pontiffs, on the other hand, were too artful not to countenance and encourage this error; and, therefore, employed all sorts of means to gain credit to an opinion so proper to gratify their ambition, and to aggrandize, in general, the episcopal order. That this is the true origin of the extensive and horrid influence of the European and Papal excommunication, will appear evident to such as cast an eye upon the following passage of Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 13. "Si qui aut privatus aut publicus Druidum decretio non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna est apud eos gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum et sceleratorum habentur, iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur."

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of such a project was lawful or not. In consequence of this, ambassadors were sent by Pepin to Zachary, the reigning pontiff, with the following question: Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state? The situation of Zachary, who stood much in need of the succours of Pepin against the Greeks and Lombards, rendered his answer such as the usurper desired. And when this favourable decision of the Roman oracle was published in France, the unhappy Childeric was stripped of his royalty without the least opposition; and Pepin, without the smallest resistance from any quarter, stepped into the throne of his master and his sovereign. Let the abettors of the papal authority see, how they can justify in Christ's pretended vicegerent upon earth, a decision, which is so glaringly repugnant to the laws and precepts of the divine Saviour [*q*]. This deci-

[*q*] See Le Cointe Annal. Franciæ Eccles. Mezeray, Daniel, and the other Gallic and German historians, concerning this important event; but particularly Bossuet Defens. Declarationis Cleri Gallicani, part I. p. 225. Petr. Rival Dissertationis Histor. et Critiques sur divers Sujets, Diss. ii. p. 70. Diss. iii. p. 156. Lond. 1726, in 8vo. Henr. de Bunau, Historia Imperii Germanici, tom. ii. p. 288. This remarkable event is not, indeed related in the same manner by all historians, and it is generally represented under the falsest colours by those, who, from a spirit of blind zeal and excessive adulation, seize every occasion of exalting the dignity and authority of the bishops of Rome. Such writers assert, that it was by Zachary's authority, as pontiff, and not in consequence of his opinion as a casuist or divine, that the crown was taken from the head of Childeric, and placed upon that of Pepin. But this the French absolutely and justly deny. Had it, however, been so, the crime of the pontiff would have been much greater than it was in reality.

sion was solemnly confirmed by Stephen II. the successor of Zachary, who undertook a journey into France, in the year 754, in order to solicit assistance against the Lombards; and who, at the same time, dissolved the obligation of the oath of fidelity and allegiance which Pepin had sworn to Childeric, and violated by his usurpation, in the year 751. And to render his title to the crown as sacred as possible, Stephen anointed and crowned him, with his wife and two sons, for the second time [r].

The advantages derived to the see of Rome from the attachment of its bishops to the kings of France.

VIII. This compliance of the Roman pontiffs proved an abundant source of opulence and credit to the church, and to its aspiring ministers. When that part of Italy which was as yet subject to the Grecian empire was involved in confusion and trouble, by the seditions and tumults which arose from the imperial edicts [s] against the erection and worship of images, the kings of the Lombards employed the united influence of their arms and negotiations in order to terminate these

☞ [r] Pepin had been anointed, by the legate Boniface at Soissons, soon after his election; but thinking that ceremony performed by the pope would recommend him more to the respect of his subjects, he desired that it should be performed anew by Stephen. Pepin is the first French monarch who received this unction as a ceremony of coronation, at least according to the reports of the most credible historians. His predecessors were proclaimed by being lifted up on a shield, and the holy phial of Clovis is now universally regarded as fabulous. The custom of anointing kings at their coronation was, however, more ancient than the time of Pepin, and was observed long before that period both in Scotland and Spain. See Edmund Martene, De Antiq. Eccles. Ritib. tom. iii. cap. x. As also Bunau, Historia Imperii Germanici, tom. ii. p. 301. 366.

☞ [s] The author has here in view the edicts of Leo Isauricus and Constantine Copronymus. The former published in the year 726, a famous edict against the worship of images, which occasioned many contests and much disturbances both in church and state; and the latter assembled at Constantinople, in the year 754, a council of 338 bishops, who unanimously condemned, not only the worship, but also the use of images.

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contests. Their success, indeed, was only advantageous to themselves; for they managed matters so as to become, by degrees, masters of the Grecian provinces in Italy, which were subject to the exarch, who resided at Ravenna. Nay, one of these monarchs, named Aistulphus, carried his views still further. Elated with these new accessions to his dominions, he meditated the conquest of Rome and its territory, and formed the ambitious project of reducing all Italy under the yoke of the Lombards. The terrified pontiff, Stephen II. addresses himself to his powerful patron and protector Pepin, represents to him his deplorable condition, and implores his assistance. The French monarch embarks, with zeal, in the cause of the suppliant pontiff; crosses the Alps, A. D. 754, with a numerous army; and having defeated Aistulphus, obliged him, by a solemn treaty, to deliver up to the see of Rome the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, and all the cities, castles, and territories which he had seized in the Roman dukedom. It was not, however, long before the Lombard prince violated, without remorse, an engagement which he had entered into with reluctance. In the year 755 he laid siege to Rome for the second time, but was again obliged to sue for peace by the victorious arms of Pepin, who returned into Italy, and forcing the Lombard to execute the treaty he had so audaciously violated, made a new grant of the exarchate [*t*], and

The donation of Pepin to that see.

[*t*] See Gar. Sigonius De Regno Italiæ, lib. iii. p. 202. tom. ii. opp. Bunau, Historia Imperii Germanici, tom. ii. p. 301. 366. Muratori Annali d'Italiæ, tom. iv. p. 310. The real limits of the exarchate, granted by Pepin to the Roman pontiff, have been much controverted among the learned, and have, particularly in our times, employed the researches of several eminent writers. The bishops of Rome extend the limits of this exarchate as far as they can with any appearance of decency or probability; while their adversaries are as zealous in contracting this famous grant

of Pentapolis to the Roman pontiff and his successors in the apostolic see of St. Peter. And thus was the bishop of Rome raised to the rank of a temporal prince.

Charlemagne's grant to the see of Rome.

IX. After the death of Pepin, a new attack was made upon the patrimony of St. Peter, by Dideric king of the Lombards, who invaded the territories that had been granted by the French monarch to the see of Rome. In this extremity, Adrian I. who was pontiff at that time, fled for succour to Charles, the son of Pepin, who, on account of his heroic exploits, was afterwards distinguished by the name of Charlemagne. This prince, whose enterprising genius led him to seize with avidity every opportunity of extending

within narrower bounds. See Lud. Ant. Murator. Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique, cap. i, ii. As also his Antiquitat. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 64. 68. 986, 987. The same author treats the matter with more circumspection, tom. v. p. 790. This controversy can only be terminated with facility by an inspection of Pepin's grant of the territory in question. Fontanini, in his First Defence of the temporal Jurisdiction of the See of Rome over the City of Commachio, written in Italian, intimates, that this grant is still in being, and even makes use of some phrases that are contained in it (see the pages 242 and 346 of that work). This, however, will scarcely be believed. Were it indeed true that such a deed is yet in being, its being published to the world would be, undoubtedly, unfavourable to the pretensions and interests of the church of Rome. It is at least certain, that in the recent dispute between the emperor Joseph and the Roman pontiff concerning the city of Commachio, the partisans of the latter, though frequently called upon by those of the emperor to produce this grant, refused constantly to comply with this demand. On the other hand, it must be confessed, that Blanchinus, in his Prolegom. ad Anastasium de Vitis Pontif. Rom. p. 55. has given us, from a Farnesian manuscript, a specimen of this grant, which seems to carry the marks of remote antiquity. Be that as it may, a multitude of witnesses unite in assuring us, that the remorse of a wounded conscience was the source of Pepin's liberality, and that his grant to the Roman pontiff was the superstitious remedy by which he hoped to expiate his enormities, and particularly his horrid perfidy to his master Childeric.

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his conquests, and whose veneration for the Roman see was carried very far, as much from the dictates of policy as superstition, adopted immediately the cause of the trembling pontiff. He passed the Alps with a formidable army A. D. 774, overturned the empire of the Lombards in Italy, which had subsisted above two hundred years, sent their exiled monarch into France, and proclaimed himself king of the Lombards. These conquests offered to Charlemagne an occasion of visiting Rome, where he not only confirmed the grants which had been made by his father to that see, but added to them new donations, and made to the Roman pontiffs a cession of several cities and provinces in Italy, which had not been contained in Pepin's grant. What those cities and provinces were, is a question difficult to be resolved at this period of time, as it is perplexed with much obscurity, from the want of authentic records, by which alone it can be decided with certainty [*u*].

[*u*] See Car. Sigonius, De Regno Italiæ, lib. iii. p. 223. tom. ii. opp. Bunau Historia Imperii Germanici, tom. ii. p. 368. Petr. de Marca De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. i. cap. xii. p. 67. Lud. Anton. Muratori Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique, cap. ii. p. 147. Conringius, De Imperio Roman. German. cap. vi. The extent of Charlemagne's grant to the see of Rome, is as much disputed as that of Pepin's between the partisans of the pope, and those of the emperors. They who plead the cause of the Roman see maintain that Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the territory of Sabino, the duchy of Spoleto, and several other places, were solemnly granted, by Charlemagne, to St. Peter and his successors. They, on the other hand, who assert the rights of the emperor, diminish as far as they can the munificence of Charles, and confine this new grant within narrow limits. The reader may consult upon this subject the authors of the present age, who have published their opinions concerning the pretensions of the emperors and the popes to the cities of Commachio and Florence, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia; but, above all, the learned Berret's excellent treatise, in-

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X. By this act of liberality, which seems to carry in it the contradictory characters of policy and imprudence, Charlemagne opened for himself a passage to the empire of the west, and to the supreme dominion over the city of Rome and its territory, upon which the western empire seemed then to depend [*w*]. He had, no doubt,

The motives to which it is to be attributed.

titled Dissertatio Chorographica de Italia Medii Ævi, f. 33. The spirit of party seems, in this controversy, as in many others, to have blinded the disputants on both sides of the question; and this, together with the difficulty of avoiding mistakes upon a point involved in such deep obscurity, has, in many cases, rendered the truth invisible to both the contending parties. With respect to the motives that induced Charlemagne to make this grant, they are much less doubtful than the extent of the grant itself. Adrian affirms, that the monarch's view was to atone for his sins by this act of liberality to the church, as we see in a letter from that pontiff to Charlemagne, which is published in Muratori's Scriptores rerum Italicar. tom. iii. part II. p. 265. and of which the following passage is remarkable: "Venientes ad nos de Capua, quam beato Petro apostolorum principi pro mercede animæ vestræ atque sempiterna memoria, cum ceteris civitatibus, obtulistis" It is not indeed unlikely, that Charlemagne, who affected that kind of piety which was the characteristic of this barbarous age, mentioned this superstitious motive in the act of cession by which he confirmed his donation to the church; but such as are acquainted with the character of this prince, and the history of this period, will be cautious in attributing his generosity to this religious principle alone. His grand motive was, undoubtedly, of an ambitious kind; he was obstinately bent upon adding the western empire to his dominions; and the success of this grand project depended much upon the consent and assistance of the Roman pontiff, whose approbation, in those times, was sufficient to sanctify the most iniquitous projects; so that Charlemagne lavished gifts upon the bishops of Rome, that, by their assistance, he might assume, with a certain air of decency, the empire of the west, and confirm his new dominion in Italy. This policy we have taken notice of already, and it must appear manifest to all who view things with the smallest degree of impartiality and attention.

[*w*] Charles, in reality, was already emperor of the west, that is, the most powerful of the European monarchs. He wanted, therefore, nothing more than the title of emperor, and the supreme dominion in Rome and its territory, both of which he obtained by the assistance of Leo III.

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been meditating for a considerable time this arduous project, which his father Pepin had probably formed before him, but the circumstances of the times obliged him to wait for a favourable occasion of putting it in execution. This was offered him in the year 800, when the affairs of the Greeks were reduced to the utmost extremity after the death of Leo III. and the barbarous murder of his son Constantine, and while the impious Irene held the reins of empire. This favourable opportunity was seized with avidity by Charles, who set out for Rome, where he was received with the utmost demonstrations of zeal by the sovereign pontiff [x], who had entered into his views, and persuaded the people, elated at this time with high notions of their independency and elective power, to unite their suffrages in favour of this prince, and to proclaim him emperor of the west [y].

The nature and form of the Roman pontiff's jurisdiction.

XI. Charles, upon his elevation to the empire of the west and the government of Rome, seems to have reserved to himself only the supreme dominion, and the unalienable rights of majesty, and to have granted to the church of Rome a subordinate jurisdiction over that great city, and its

[x] Leo III.

[y] See the historians who have transmitted to us accounts of this century, and more especially Bunau, Historia Imperii Romano German. tom. ii. p. 537. The partisans of the Roman pontiffs generally maintain, that Leo III. by a divine right, vested in him as bishop of Rome, transported the western empire from the Greeks to the Franks, and conferred it upon Charlemagne, the monarch of the latter. From hence they conclude that the Roman pontiff, as the vicar of Christ, is the supreme Lord of the whole earth, and, in a particular manner, of the Roman empire. The temerity of these pretensions, and the absurdity of this reasoning, are exposed with much learning and judgment by the celebrated Fred. Spanheim, De ficta translatione Imperii in Carolum M. per Leonem III. tom. ii. opp. p. 557.

annexed territory [z]. This grant was undoubtedly suggested to him by the ambitious pontiff as a matter of sacred and indispensible obligation, and many fictitious deeds were probably

[z] That Charlemagne, in effect, preserved entire his supreme authority over the city of Rome and its adjacent territory, gave law to the citizens by judges of his own appointment, punished malefactors, enjoyed the prerogatives, and exercised all the functions of royalty, has been demonstrated by several of the learned in the most ample and satisfactory manner, and confirmed by the most unexceptionable and authentic testimonies. To be convinced of this, it will be sufficient to consult Muratori's Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique, cap. vi. p. 77. And, indeed, they must have a strange power of resisting the clearest evidence, who are absurd enough to assert, as does Fontanini, in his treatise, entitled Dominio S. della Sede sopra Comachio, Diss. i. c. 95, 96. that Charles sustained at Rome the character of the advocate of the Roman church, and not that of its sovereign or its lord, the dominion of the pontiffs being unlimited and universal. On the other hand, we must acknowledge ingenuously, that the power of the pontiff, both in the city of Rome and its annexed territory, was very great, and that, in several cases, he seemed to act with a princely authority. But the extent and the foundations of that authority are matters hid in the deepest obscurity, and have thereby given occasion to endless disputes. Muratori maintains, in his work above cited, p. 102, that the bishop of Rome discharged the function of exarch, or vicar, to the emperor, an opinion which Clement XI. rejected as injurious to the papal dignity, and which, indeed, does not appear to have any solid foundation. After a careful examination of all the circumstances that can contribute towards the solution of this perplexed question, the most probable account of the matter seems to be this: That the Roman pontiff possessed the city of Rome and its territory by the same right that he held the exarchate of Ravenna, and the other lands of which he received the grant from Charlemagne; that is to say, that he possessed Rome as a feudal tenure, though charged with less marks of dependence than other fiefs generally are, on account of the lustre and dignity of a city which had been so long the capital of the empire. This opinion derives much strength from what we shall have occasion to observe in the following note, and it has the peculiar advantage of reconciling the jarring testimonies of ancient writers, and the various records of antiquity relating to this point.

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produced to make out the pretensions, and justify the claims of the church to this high degree of temporal authority and civil jurisdiction. In order to reconcile the new emperor to this grant, it was no doubt alleged, that Constantine the Great, his renowned predecessor, when he removed the seat of the empire to Constantinople, delivered up Rome, the old metropolis, with its adjacent territories, commonly called the Roman dukedom, to be possessed and governed by the church, and that with no other restriction, than that this should be no detriment to his supreme dominion; and it was insinuated to Charles, that he could not depart from the rule established by that pious emperor, without incurring the wrath of God, and the indignation of St. Peter [*a*].

[*a*] Most writers are of opinion, that Constantine's pretended grant was posterior to this period, and was forged in the tenth century. It appears to me, on the contrary, that this fictitious grant was in being in the eighth century, and it is extremely probable, that both Adrian and his successor Leo III. made use of it to persuade Charlemagne to that donation In favour of this opinion we have the unexceptionable testimony of Adrian himself in his letter to Charlemagne, which is published in Muratori's Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. tom. iii. part II. p. 194. And which is extremely worthy of an attentive perusal. In this letter, Adrian exhorts Charles before his elevation to the empire, to order the restitution of all the grants and donations that had formerly been made to St. Peter, and to the church of Rome. In this demand also he distinguishes, in the plainest manner, the donation of Constantine from those of the other princes and emperors, and, what is particularly remarkable, from the exarchate which was the gift of Pepin, and even from the additions that Charles had already made to his father's grant; from whence we may justly conclude that by the donation of Constantine, Adrian meant the city of Rome, and its annexed territory. He speaks first of this grant in the following terms: "Deprecamur vestram Excellentiam...pro Dei amore et ipsius clavigeri regni cœlorum...ut secundum promissionem quam polliciti estis eidem Dei apostolo pro animæ vestræ mercede et stabilitate regni vestri, omnia nostris temporibus adimplere jubeatis...et sicut temporibus beati

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The Grecian emperors check the ambition of the Roman pontiffs, and diminish their revenues.

XII. While the power and opulence of the Roman pontiffs were rising to the greatest height by the events which we have now been relating, they received a mortifying check, in consequence of a quarrel which broke out between these haughty pontiffs and the Grecian emperors. Leo the Isaurian, and his son Constantine Copronymus, incensed at the zeal which Gregory II. and III. discovered for the worship of images, not only confiscated the treasures and lands which the

Silvestri Romani pontificis, a sanctæ recordationis piissimo Constantino M. Imperatore, per ejus largitatem (here Constantine's donation is evidently mentioned) sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est, et protestatem in his Hesperiæ partibus largiri dignatus est: ita et in his vestris felicissimis temporibus atque nostris sancta Dei ecclesia germinet . . . et amplius atque amplius exaltata permaneat . . . quia ecce novus Christianissimus Dei gratiâ Constantinus imperator (here we see Charles, who at that time was only a king, styled *emperor* by the pontiff, and compared with Constantine) his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctæ suæ ecclesiæ . . . largiri dignatus est." So much for that part of the letter that relates to Constantine's grant: as to the other donations which the pontiff evidently distinguishes from it, observe what follows: "Sed et cuncta alia quæ per diversos imperatores, patricios, etiam et alios Deum timentes, pro eorum animæ mercede et venia delictorum, in partibus Tusciæ, Spoleto, seu Benevento, atque Corsica, simul et Pavinensi patrimonio, beato Petro apostolo concessa sunt, et per nefandam gentem Longobardorum per annorum spatia abstracta et ablata sunt vestris temporibus, restituantur." (The pontiff intimates further, that all these grants were carefully preserved in the office of the Lateran, and that he sends them to Charles by his legates.) "Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scrinio Lateranensi recondilas habemus, tamen et pro satisfactione Christianissimi regni vestri, per jam fatos viros ad demonstrandum eas vobis direximus, et pro hoc petimus eximiam præcellentiam vestram, ut in integro ipsa patrimonia beato Petro et nobis restituere jubeatis." By this it appears that Constantine's grant was now in being among the archives of the Lateran, and was sent to Charlemagne with the other donations of kings and princes, whose examples were made use of to excite his liberality to the church.

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church of Rome possessed in Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia, but moreover withdrew the bishops of these countries, and also the various provinces and churches of Illyricum, from the jurisdiction of the Roman see, and subjected them to the spiritual dominion of the bishop of Constantinople. And so inflexibly were the Grecian emperors bent upon humbling the arrogance of the Roman pontiffs, that no intreaties, supplications, nor threats could engage them to abandon their purpose, or to restore this rich and signal portion of St. Peter's patrimony to his greedy successors [*b*]. It is here that we must look for the original source, and the principal cause of that vehement contest between the Roman pontiff and the bishop of Constantinople, which, in the following century, divided the Greek and Latin churches, and was so pernicious to the interests and advancement of true Christianity. These lamentable divisions, which wanted no new incident to foment them, were, nevertheless, augmented by a controversy which arose, in this century, concerning the derivation of the Holy Spirit, which we shall have occasion to mention more largely in its proper place. But it is more than probable that this controversy would have been terminated with the utmost facility had not the spirits of the contending parties been previously exasperated by disputes founded upon avarice and ambition, and carried on, without either moderation or decency, by the holy patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, in defence of their respective pretensions.

The monastic discipline fallen into decay.

XIII. The monastic discipline was extremely relaxed at this time both in the eastern and western provinces, and, as appears by the concurring

[*b*] See Mich. Lequien's Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 96. Among the Greek writers also Theophanes and others acknowledge the fact; but they are not entirely agreed about the reasons to which it is to be attributed.

testimonies of the writers of this century, was fallen into a total decay. The only monks who escaped this general corruption, were they who passed their days in the deserts of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, amidst the austerities of a wretched life, and remote from all the comforts of human society: yet the merit of having preserved their discipline was sadly counterbalanced by the gross ignorance, the fanatical madness, and the sordid superstition that reigned among these miserable hermits. Those of the monastic orders who lived nearer cities and populous towns, troubled frequently the public tranquillity by the tumults and seditions they fomented among the multitude, so that it became necessary to check their rebellious ambition by the severe laws that were enacted against them by Constantine Copronymus, and other emperors. The greatest part of the western monks followed, at this time, the rule of St. Benedict; though there were every where convents which adopted the discipline of other orders [*c*]. But as they increased in opulence they lost sight of all rules, and submitted, at length, to no other discipline than that of intemperance, voluptuousness, and sloth [*d*]. Charlemagne attempted, by various edicts, to put a stop to this growing evil; but his efforts were attended with little success [*e*].

The origin of the order of canons.

XIV. This universal depravity and corruption of the monks gave rise to a new order of priests

[*c*] See Mabillon, Præf. ad Acta SS. Ord. Benedicti, Sæc. i. p. 24. and Sæc. iv. part I. p. 26.

[*d*] The author mentioned in the preceding note, discourses with a noble frankness and courage concerning the corruption of the monks, and its various causes in the same work, Præf. ad Sæc. iv. part I. p. 64.

[*e*] See the Capitularia Caroli, published by Baluzius, tom. i. p. 148. 157. 237. 355. 366. 375. 503. Laws so severe, and so often repeated, show evidently that the corruption of the monks must have been truly enormous.

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in the west, which was a sort of middle order between the monks or regulars, and the secular clergy. This new species of ecclesiastics adopted the monastic discipline and manner of life, so far as to have their dwelling and their table in common, and to assemble themselves at certain hours for divine service; but they entered not into the vows which were peculiar to the monks, and they were also appointed to discharge the ministerial functions in certain churches which were committed to their pastoral direction. These ecclesiastics were at first called Fratres Dominici, but soon after received the name of canons [*f*]. The common opinion attributes the institution of this order to Chrodegangus, bishop of Metz; nor is this opinion destitute of truth [*g*]. For though before this time, there were in Italy, Africa, and other provinces, convents of ecclesiastics, who lived after the manner of the canons [*h*]; yet Chrodegangus, who, towards the middle of

[*f*] See Le Bœuf Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre, tom. i. p. 174. the Paris edition, published in 1743, in 4to.

[*g*] See for an account of Chrodegangus, the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 128. Calmet, Histoire de Lorraine, tom. i. p. 513. Acta Sanctor. tom. i. Martii, p. 452. The rule which he prescribed to his canons, may be seen in Le Coint's Annales Francor. Eccles. tom. v. ad a. 757. sect. 35; as also in the Concilia Labbei, tom. vii. p. 1444. He is not, however, the author of the rule which is published in his name, in the Spicilegium veter. Scriptor. tom. i. p. 565. Longueval, in his Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. iv. p. 435. has given a neat and elegant abridgment of the rule of Chrodegangus.

[*h*] See Lud. Ant. Murator. Antiq. Italicar. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 185; as also Lud. Thomassin. Disciplina Ecclesiæ Vet. et Nov. part I. lib. iii. The design of this institution was truly excellent. The authors of it, justly shocked at the vicious manners of a licentious clergy, hoped that this new institution would have a tendency to prevent the irregularities of that order, by delivering them from the cares, anxieties, and occupations of this present life. But the event has shewn how much these pious hopes have been disappointed.

this century, subjected to this rule the clergy of Metz, not only added to their religious ceremonies the custom of singing hymns and anthems to God, at certain hours, and probably a variety of rites, but also, by his example, excited the Franks, the Italians, and the Germans, to distinguish themselves by their zeal in favour of the canons, to erect monasteries for them, and to introduce their rule into their respective countries.

The authority of the Roman pontiffs limited by, and subordinate to, that of the emperors.

XV. The supreme dominion over the church and its possessions was vested in the emperors and kings, both in the eastern and the western world. The sovereignty of the Grecian emperors, in this respect, has never been contested; and though the partisans of the Roman pontiffs endeavour to render dubious the supremacy of the Latin monarchs over the church, yet this supremacy is too manifest to be disputed by such as have considered the matter attentively [*i*], and it is acknowledged by the wisest and most candid writers, even of the Romish communion. Adrian I. in a council of bishops assembled at Rome, conferred upon Charlemagne, and his successors, the right of election to the see of Rome [*k*]; and though neither Charlemagne, nor his son Lewis, were willing to exercise this power in all its extent, by naming and creating the pontiff upon every vacancy, yet they reserved the right of approving and confirming the person that was elected to that high dignity by the priests and people: nor was the consecration of the elected pontiff of the least validity, unless performed in presence of the em-

[*i*] For an accurate account of the rights of the Grecian emperors in religious matters, we refer the reader to Lequien's Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 136.

[*k*] This act is mentioned by Anastasius; it has been preserved by Yvo and Gratian, and has been the subject of a multitude of treatises.

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peror's ambassadors [*l*]. The Roman pontiffs obeyed the laws of the emperors, received their judicial decisions as of indispensable obligation, and executed them with the utmost punctuality and submission [*m*]. The kings of the Franks appointed extraordinary judges, whom they called envoys, to inspect into the lives and manners of the clergy, superior and inferior, to take cognizance of their contests, to terminate their disputes, to enact laws concerning the public worship, and to punish the crimes of the sacred order, as well as those of the other citizens [*n*]. All churches also, and monasteries, were obliged to pay to the public treasury a tribute proportioned to their respective lands and possessions, except such as, by the pure favour of the supreme powers, were graciously exempted from this general tax [*o*].

Confined within narrow limits.

XVI. It is true, indeed, that the Latin emperors did not assume to themselves the administration of the church, or the cognizance and decision of controversies that were purely of a religious nature. They acknowledged, on the contrary, that these matters belonged to the tribunal of the Roman pontiff and of the ecclesiastical

[*l*] See Mabillon, Comm. in Ordinem Romanum Musei Italici, tom. ii. p. 113. Muratori Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique, p. 87.

[*m*] This has been amply demonstrated by Baluzius, in his Præf. ad Capitularia Regum Francorum, sect. 21.

[*n*] See Muratori Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. i. Diss. ix. p. 470. Franc. de Roye, De Missis Dominicis, cap. x. p. 44. cap. viii. p. 118. 184. 188. 195.

[*o*] See Muratori Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. i. Diss. xvii. p. 926. See also the collection of the various pieces that were published on occasion of the dispute between Lewis XV. and his clergy, relating to the immunities of that order in France. These pieces were printed at the Hague in the year 1751, in seven volumes, 8vo, under the following title: Ecrits pour et contre les immunités pretendués par le Clergé de France.

councils [*p*]. But this jurisdiction of the pontiff was confined within narrow limits; he could decide nothing by his sole authority, but was obliged to convene a council when any religious differences were to be terminated by an authoritative judgment. Nor did the provinces, when any controversy arose, wait for the decision of the bishop of Rome; but assembled by their own authority, their particular councils, in which the bishops gave their thoughts, with the utmost freedom upon the points in debate, and voted often in direct opposition to what was known to be the opinion of the Roman pontiff; all which is evident from what passed in the councils assembled by the Franes and Germans, in order to determine the celebrated controversy concerning the use and worship of images. It is further to be observed, that the power of convening councils, and the right of presiding in them, were the prerogatives of the emperors and sovereign princes, in whose dominions these assemblies were held; and that no decrees of any council obtained the force of laws, until they were approved and confirmed by the supreme magistrate [*q*]. Thus was the spiritual authority of Rome wisely bounded by the civil power; but its ambitious pontiffs fretted under the imperial curb, and eager to break loose their bonds, left no means unemployed for that purpose. Nay, they formed projects, which seemed less the effects of ambition than of phrenzy: for they claimed a supreme dominion not only over the church, but also over kings themselves,

[*p*] See the Dissertation of Charlemagne, De Imaginibus, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 48. edit. Heumann.

[*q*] All this is fully and admirably demonstrated by Baluzius, in his preface to the Capitularia, or laws of the kings of the Franes, and is also amply illustrated in that work. See also J. Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 270.

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and pretended to reduce the whole universe under their ghostly jurisdiction. However extravagant these pretensions were, they were followed by the most vigorous efforts, and the wars and tumults that arose in the following century, contributed much to render these efforts successful.

Grecian and eastern writers.

XVII. If we turn our eyes towards the writers of this century, we shall find very few that stand distinguished in the lists of fame, either on account of erudition or genius. Among the Greeks, the following only seem worthy of mention.

Germanus, bishop of Constantinople, the greatest part of whose high renown was due to his violent zeal for image worship [r].

Cosmas, bishop of Jerusalem, who acquired some reputation by his Lyric vein, consecrated to the service of religion, and employed in composing hymns for public and private devotion.

George Syncellus and Theophanes, who are not the least considerable among the writers of the Byzantine history, though they be in all respects infinitely below the ancient Greek and Latin historians.

But the writer, who surpassed all his contemporaries among the Greeks and Orientals, was John Damascenus, a man of genius and eloquence, who, in a variety of productions full of erudition, explained the Peripatetic philosophy, and illustrated the main and capital points of the Christian doctrine. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the eminent talents of this great man were tainted with that sordid superstition and that excessive veneration for the ancient fathers, that were the reigning defects of the age he lived in, not to mention his wretched method of explaining

[r] See Rich. Simon, Critique de la Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 270.

the doctrines of the gospel according to the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy [*s*].

XVIII. The first place among the Latin writers is due to Charlemagne, whose love of letters was one of the bright ornaments of his imperial dignity. The laws which are known by the title of Capitularia, with several Epistles, and a Book concerning Images, are attributed to this prince; though it seems highly probable, that the most of these compositions were drawn up by other pens [*t*]. Western and Latin writers.

After this learned prince, we may justly place venerable Bede, so called from his illustrious virtues [*u*]; Alcuin [*w*], the preceptor of Charlemagne; Paulinus of Aquileia [*x*], who were all distinguished by their laborious application, and their zeal for the advancement of learning and science, and who treated the various branches of literature, that were known in this century, in such a manner as to convince us, that it was the infelicity of the times, rather than the want of genius, that hindered them from arising to higher degrees of perfection than what they attained to. Add to these, Boniface, of whom we

[*s*] Bayle Diction. tom. ii. p. 950; as also the account of the writings of John Damascenus, which is published in Le Quien's edition of his works, and was composed by Leo Allatius.

[*t*] See Jo. A. Fabricii Bibliotheca Medii Ævi, Lat. tom. i. p. 936. Histoire Litteraire de France, tom. iv. p. 378.

[*u*] See the Acta Sanctorum, tom. April. p. 866. Gen. Dictionary, at the article Bede. A list of the writings of this venerable Briton, composed by himself, is published by Muratori, in his Antiq. Italic. Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 825.

[*w*] Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. iv. p. 295. Gen. Dictionary, at the article Alcuin. Catelinot, who has discovered the treatise of Alcuin, De Processione Spiritus S. which has never been published, is preparing an edition of all the works of that learned writer. See the Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. viii. Præf. p. 10.

[*x*] See Hist. Litteraire, &c. tom. iv. p. 286. Acta Sanct. tom. i. Januar. p. 713.

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have already spoken; Eginard, the celebrated author of the Life of Charlemagne, and other productions; Pual, the deacon, who acquired a considerable and lasting reputation by his History of the Lombards, his Book of Homilies, and his miscellaneous labours; Ambrose Authpert, who wrote a commentary on the Revelations; and Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans; and thus we shall have a complete list of all the writers who acquired any degree of esteem in this century by their literary productions, either sacred or profane.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church during this Century.

The Christian doctrine sadly corrupted.

I. THE fundamental doctrines of Christianity were, as yet, respected and preserved in the theological writings both of the Greeks and Latins, as seems evident from the discourse of John Damascenus concerning the orthodox faith, and the confession of faith which was drawn up by Charlemagne [*y*]. The pure seed of celestial truth was, however, choked by a monstrous and incredible quantity of noxious weeds. The rational simplicity of the Christian worship was corrupted by an idolatrous veneration for images, and other superstitious inventions, and the sacred

[*y*] See the treatise of this prince, Concerning Images, book III. p. 259. ed. Heumanni. Of the Greek writers, the reader may consult Mich. Syncellus's Confession of Faith, published by Montfaucon, in his Bibliotheca Coisliniana, p. 90: and among the Latins, An Exposition of the principal Doctrine of the Christian Religion, composed by Benedict, abbot of Aniane, and published by Balusius, in his Miscellanea, tom. v. p. 56; as also the Creed of Leo III. published in the same work, tom. vii. p. 18.

flame of divine charity was extinguished by the violent contentions and animosities which the progress of these superstitions occasioned in the church. All acknowledged the efficacy of our Saviour's merits: and yet all, one way or another, laboured, in effect, to diminish the persuasion of this efficacy in the minds of men, by teaching, that Christians might appease an offended Deity, by voluntary acts of mortification, or by gifts and oblations lavished upon the church, and by exhorting such as were desirous of salvation to place their confidence in the works and merits of the saints. Were we to enlarge upon all the absurdities and superstitions which were invented to flatter the passions of the misguided multitude, and to increase, at the expense of reason and Christianity, the opulence and authority of a licentious clergy; such an immense quantity of odious materials would swell this work to an enormous size.

The piety and morals of this age.

II. The piety in vogue during this and some succeeding ages consisted in building and embellishing churches and chapels, in endowing monasteries, erecting basilics, hunting after the relics of saints and martyrs, and treating them with an excessive and absurd veneration, in procuring the intercession of the saints by rich oblations or superstitious rites, in worshipping images, in pilgrimages to those places which were esteemed holy, and chiefly to Palestine, and such like absurd and extravagant practices and institutions. The pious Christian, and the profligate transgressor, showed equal zeal in the performance of these superstitious services, which were looked upon as of the highest efficacy in order to the attainment of eternal salvation; they were performed by the latter as an expiation for their crimes, and a mean of appeasing an offended Deity; and by the former with a view to obtain, from above, the good

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things of this life, and an easy and commodious passage to life eternal. The true and genuine religion of Jesus, if we except a few of its doctrines contained in the creed, was utterly unknown in this century, not only to the multitude in general, but also to the doctors of the first rank and eminence in the church, and the consequences of this corrupt ignorance were fatal to the interests of virtue. All orders of men, regardless of the obligations of morality, of the duties of the gospel, and of the culture and improvement of their minds, rushed headlong with a perfect security into all sorts of wickedness, from the delusive hopes, that by the intercession and prayers of the saints, and the credit of the priests at the throne of God, they would easily obtain the remission of their enormities, and render the Deity propitious. This dismal account of the religion and morals of the eighth century is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all the historians who have written concerning that period.

Exegetical or explanatory theology.

III. The Greeks were of opinion, that the holy scriptures had been successfully interpreted and explained by the ancient commentators, and therefore imagined, that they rendered a most important service to the students in divinity, when, without either judgment or choice, they extracted and compiled from the works of these admired sages their explanatory observations on the sacred writings. The commentary of John Damascenus upon the epistles of St. Paul, which was taken from the writings of Chrysostom, is alone sufficient to serve as a proof of the little discernment with which these compilations were generally made.

The Latin expositors may be divided into two classes, according to the different nature of their productions. In the first, we place those writers who, after the example of the Greeks, employed

their labour in collecting into one body the interpretations and commentaries of the ancients. Bede distinguished himself among the expositors of this class, by his explication of the epistles of St. Paul, drawn from the writings of Augustin and others [*z*]. Still more estimable are the writers of the second class, who made use of their own penetration and sagacity in investigating the sense of the holy scriptures. Such as Alcuin, Ambrose Authpert, the expositors of the Revelations, nay, and Bede also, who belongs, in reality, to both classes. It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these commentators were destitute of the qualities that are essential to the sacred critic; for we find them in their explications neglecting entirely the natural sense of the words of scripture, and running blindfold after a certain hidden and mystical meaning, which, to use their jargon, they usually divided into allegorical, anagogical, and tropological [*a*]; and thus they delivered their own rash fictions and crude fancies, as the true and genuine sentiments of the sacred writers. Of this we are furnished with many examples in Alcuin's Commentary on St. John; Bede's Allegorical Illustrations of the Books of Samuel; and Charlemagne's book concerning images, in which various passages of the holy scriptures are occasionally explained according to the taste of the times [*b*].

Charlemagne's zeal for the study of the scriptures.

IV. The veneration of Charlemagne for the sacred writings was carried to such an excessive length [*c*], as to persuade that monarch that they contained the latent seeds and principles of all

[*z*] See, for an account of the commentaries of Bede, Rich. Simon, Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiast. de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 280. See also Bedæ Explicatio Geneseos ex Patribus, in Martene's Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. v. p. 111. 116. 140. and his interpretation of Habakkuk, ibid. p. 295.

[*a*] See Carolus Magnus, De Imaginibus, lib. i. p. 138.

[*b*] See the same imperial author, book I. p. 84. 91. 123. 127. 131. 133. 136. 138. 145. 160. 164, 165, &c.

[*c*] See Carolus Magnus, De Imagin. lib. i. p. 231. 236.

arts and sciences; an opinion, no doubt, which he early imbibed from the lessons of his preceptor Alcuin, and the other divines who frequented his court [*d*]. Hence the zeal with which that prince excited and encouraged the more learned among the clergy to direct their pious labours towards the illustration of the holy scriptures. Several laws which he published to encourage this species of learning are yet extant, as also various monuments of his deep solicitude about the advancement and propagation of Christian knowledge [*e*]. And lest the faults that were to be found in several places of the Latin translation of the scriptures should prove an obstacle to the execution and accomplishment of his pious views, he employed Alcuin in correcting these errors, and is said, in the last years of his life, to have spent a considerable part of his time in the same learned and pious work [*f*]. It is also to his encouragement and direction, that some writers attribute the first German translation of the sacred writings, though others contend, that this honour is due to his son and successor Lewis, surnamed the Meek.

Misses its aim by some imprudent appointments of that emperor.

V. This zeal and industry of the emperor contributed, no doubt, to rouse from their sloth a lazy and ignorant clergy, and to raise up a spirit of application to literary pursuits. We cannot, however, help observing, that this laborious prince imprudently established certain customs, and confirmed others, which had a manifest tendency to defeat, in a great measure, his laudable designs of promoting Christian knowledge. He confirmed the practice already in use, of reading and explain-

[*d*] Jo. Frickius, De Canone Scripturæ Sacræ, p. 184.

[*e*] Baronius, Annal. ad a. DCCLXXVIII. n. XXVII. Jo. A. Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 950. Jac. Usserius, De Sacris et Scripturis Vernacul. p. 110.

[*f*] J. A. Fabricii Bib. Lat. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 950. Usserius, De Sacris et Scripturis Vernacul. p. 110.

ing to the people, in the public assemblies, certain portions only of the scriptures; and reduced the different methods of worship followed in different churches into one fixed rule, which was to be observed with the most perfect uniformity in all [g].

[g] They who imagine that the portions of scripture which are still explained, every year, to Christians in their religious assemblies, were selected for that purpose by the order of Charlemagne, are undoubtedly mistaken; since it is manifest, that in the preceding ages there were certain portions of scripture set apart for each day of worship in the greatest part of the Latin churches. See Jo. Henri Thameri, Schediasma de Origine et Dignitate Pericoparum quæ Evangelia et Epistolæ Vulgo Vocantur. See also J. Franc. Buddei, Isagoge ad Theologiam, tom. ii. p. 1640. It must, however, be confessed, that Charlemagne introduced some new regulations into this part of divine service; for whereas, before his time, the Latin churches differed from each other in several circumstances of the public worship, and particularly in this, that the same portions of scripture were not read and explained in them all, he published a solemn edict, commanding all the religious assemblies within his territories to conform themselves to the rule of worship and divine service established in the church of Rome. With respect to the portions of scripture which we call the epistles and gospels, and which, from the time of Charlemagne down to us, continue to be used in divine worship, it is certain that they were read in the church of Rome so early as the sixth century. It is also certain, that this prince was extremely careful in reforming the service of the Latin churches, and appointed the form of worship used at Rome to be observed in them all. Hence the churches, which did not adopt the Roman ritual, have different epistles and gospels from those which are used by us and the other western churches, who were commanded by Charlemagne to imitate the Roman service. The church of Corbetta is an example of this, as may be seen in Muratori's Antiq. Ital. tom. iv. p. 836; and also the church of Milan, which follows the rite of St. Ambrose. If any are desirous to know what epistles and gospels were used by the Franks and other western churches before the time of Charlemagne, they have only to consult the Calendars published by Martene, in his Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. v. p. 66. the Discourses of Bede, published in the same work, tom. v. p. 339. and Mabillon, De Antiqua Liturgia Gallicana; to all which may be added Peyrat, Antiquités de la Chapelle du Roi de France, p. 566.

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Persuaded also that few of the clergy were capable of explaining with perspicuity and judgment the portions of scripture which are distinguished in the ritual by the name of epistle and gospel, he ordered Paul Deacon and Alcuin to compile, from the ancient doctors of the church, homilies, or discourses upon the epistles and gospels, which a stupid and ignorant set of priests were to commit to memory, and recite to the people. This gave rise to that famous collection, which went by the title of the Homilarium of Charlemagne [*h*], and which being followed as a model by many productions of the same kind, composed by private persons from a principle of pious zeal, contributed much to nourish the indolence, and to perpetuate the ignorance of a worthless clergy [*i*]. The zeal and activity of this great prince did not stop here; for he ordered the lives of the principal saints to be written in a moderate volume, of which copies were dispersed throughout his dominions, that the people might have in the dead, examples of piety and virtue, which were no where to be found among the living. All these projects and designs were certainly formed and executed with upright and pious intentions, and, considering the state

[*h*] See, for an account of this book of Homilies, the learned Seelen's Selecta Litteraria, p. 252.

[*i*] Alan, abbot of Farfa in Italy, wrote in this century an enormous Book of Homilies, the preface to which is published by Bernard Pezius, in the Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. vi. part I. p. 83. In the following age several works under the same title were composed by learned men; one by Hagmo, of Halberstadt, which is still extant: another by Rabanus Maurus, at the request of the emperor Lothaire; and a third by Hericus, mentioned by Pezius in the work above quoted, p. 93. All these were wrote in Latin. The famous Ottfrid of Weissenbourg, was the first who composed a Book of Homilies in the Teutonic language; for an account of this work, which was written in the ninth century, see Lambecius, De Bibliotheca Vindobon. Augusta, tom. ii. cap. v. p. 419.

of things in this century, were, in several respects, both useful and necessary; they, however, contrary to the emperor's intention, contributed, undoubtedly, to encourage the priests in their criminal sloth, and their shameful neglect of the study of the scriptures. For the greatest part of them employed their time and labour only upon those parts of the sacred writings, which the emperor had appointed to be read in the churches, and explained to the people; and never attempted to exercise their capacities upon the rest of the divine word. The greatest part of the clergy also, instead of composing themselves the discourses they recited in public, confined themselves to their book of homilies, that was published by the authority of their sovereign, and thus let their talents lie uncultivated and unemployed.

The state of didactic theology.

VI. None of the Latins carried their theological enterprizes so far as to give a complete, connected, and accurate system of the various doctrines of Christianity. It would be absurd to comprehend, under this title, the various discourses concerning the person and nature of Christ, which were designed to refute the errors of Felix [*k*] and Elipand, or to combat the opinions which were now spread abroad concerning the origin of the Holy Ghost [*l*], and several other points; since these discourses afford no proofs either of precision or diligence in their

☞ [*k*] The doctrine taught by Felix, bishop of Urgella, and his disciple Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, was, that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, not by nature, but by adoption. This doctrine was also intimately connected with the Nestorian hypothesis, and was condemned, in this century, by the synod of Ratisbon, and the councils of Francfort and Frioul.

☞ [*l*] The error now published relating to the Holy Ghost was, that it proceeded from the Father only, and not from the Father and the Son.

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authors. The labours and industry of the divines of this age were totally employed in collecting the opinions and authorities of the fathers, by whom are meant the theological writers of the first six centuries; and so blind and servile was their veneration for these doctors, that they regarded their dictates as infallible, and their writings as the boundaries of truth, beyond which, reason was not permitted to push its researches. The Irish, or Hibernians, who in this century were known by the name of Scots, were the only divines who refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority. Naturally subtile and sagacious, they applied their philosophy, such as it was, to the illustration of the truth and doctrines of religion; a method which was almost generally abhorred and exploded in all other nations [*m*].

[*m*] That the Hibernians, who were called Scots in this century, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves, in these times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have long been acquainted, as we see them, in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging, with the highest reputation and applause, the function of doctors in France, Germany, and Italy, both during this and the following century. But that these Hibernians were the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe, and so early as the eighth century illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of Benedict, abbot of Aniane in the province of Languedoc, who lived in this period, and some of whose productions are published by Baluzius, in the fifth volume of his Miscellanea. This learned abbot, in his Letter to Guarnarius, p. 54. expresses himself thus: "Apud modernos scholasticos, (*i. e.* public teachers, or schoolmasters) maxime apud Scotos, est syllogismus delusionis, ut dicant Trinitatem, sicut personarum, ita esse substantiarum;" (by this it appears, that the Irish divines made use of a certain syllogism, which Benedict calls delusive, *i. e.* fallacious and sophistical, to demonstrate that the persons in the God-

The Greeks were not so destitute of systematical divines as the Latins. John Damascenus composed a complete body of the Christian doctrine in a scientifical method, under the title of Four Books concerning the Orthodox Faith. The two kinds of theology, which the Latins termed scholastic and didactic, were united in this laborious performance, in which the author not only explains the doctrines he delivers by subtile and profound reasoning, but also confirms his explications by the authority of the ancient doctors. This book was received among the Greeks with the highest applause, and was so excessively admired, that at length it came to be acknowledged among that people as the only rule of divine truth. Many, however, complain of this applauded writer, as having consulted more, in his theological system, the conjectures of human reason, and the opinions

head were substances: a captious syllogism this, as we may see from what follows, and also every way proper to throw the ignorant into the greatest perplexity) "quatinus si adsenserit illectus auditor, Trinitatem esse trium substantiarum Deum, trium derogetur cultor Deorum: si autem abnuerit, personarum denegator culpetur." It was with this miserable piece of sophistry that these subtile divines puzzled and tormented their disciples and hearers, accusing those of Tritheism who admitted their argument, and casting the reproach of Sabellianism upon those who rejected it. For thus they reasoned, or rather quibbled: "You must either affirm or deny that the three Persons in the Deity are three substances. If you affirm it, you are undoubtedly a Tritheist, and worship three Gods: if you deny it, this denial implies that they are not three distinct persons, and thus you fall into Sabellianism." Benedict condemns this Hibernian subtilty, and severely animadverts upon the introduction of it into theology; he also recommends in its place that amiable simplicity that is so conformable to the nature and genius of the gospel: "Sed hæc de fide (says he) et omnis caliditatis versutia simplicitate fidei catholicæ est puritate vitanda, non captiosa interjectione linguarum sæva impactione interpolanda." From hence it appears, that the philosophical or scholastic theology among the Latins, is of more ancient date than is commonly imagined.

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of the ancients, than the genuine dictates of the sacred oracles, and of having, in consequence of this method, deviated from the true source and the essential principles of theology [*n*]. To the work of Damascenus now mentioned, we may add his Sacred Parallels, in which he has collected, with uncommon care and industry, the opinions of the ancient doctors concerning the various points of the Christian religion. We may, therefore, look upon this writer as the Thomas and Lombard of the Greeks.

Moral writers.

VII. None of the moral writers of this century attempted forming a complete system of the duties and virtues of the Christian life. John, surnamed Carpathius, a Greek writer, composed some exhortatory discourses, in which there are scarcely any marks of judgment or genius. Among the monastic orders nothing was relished but the enthusiastic strains of the Mystics, and the doctrines of Dionysius the Areopagite, their pretended chief, whose suppositious writings were interpreted and explained by Johannes Darensis out of complaisance to the monks [*o*]. The Latin writers confined their labours in morality to some general precepts concerning virtue and vice, that seemed rather destined to regulate the external actions of Christians, than to purify their inward principles, or to fix duty upon its proper foundations. Their precepts also, such as they were, and their manner of explaining them, had now imbibed a strong tincture of the Peripatetic philosophy, as appears from certain treatises of Bede, and the treatise of Alcuin, concerning

[*n*] Jo. Henr. Hottinger. Bibliothecar. Quadripart. lib. iii. cap. ii. sect. iii. p. 372. Mart. Chemnitius, De Usu et Utilitate Locor. Commun. p. 26.

[*o*] Jos. Simon Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 129.

virtue and vice [*p*]. That the people, however, might be animated to the pursuit of virtue by the commanding power of example, Bede, Florus, Alcuin, Marcellinus, Ambrose, Authpert, and others employed their pious industry in writing the lives of such as had been eminent for their piety and worthy deeds.

Controversies.

VIII. The controversies that turned upon the main and essential points of religion were, during this century, few in number, and scarcely any of them managed with tolerable sagacity or judgment. The greatest part of the Greeks were involved in the dispute concerning images, in which their reasonings were utterly destitute of precision and perspicuity; while the Latins employed their chief zeal and industry in confuting and extirpating the doctrine of Elipand concerning the person of Christ. John Damascenus exposed the errors of all the different sects in a short but useful and interesting treatise; he also attacked the Manichæans and Nestorians with a particular vehemence, and even went so far in his polemic labours, as to combat the erroneous doctrine of the Saracens. In these compositions we find several proofs of subtilty and genius, but very little of that clearness and simplicity that constitute the chief merit of polemic writings. The Jews were left almost unmolested, as the Christians were sufficiently employed by the controversies that had arisen among themselves: Anastatius, abbot of Palestine, made, however, some attempts to subdue the infidelity of that obstinate people.

The origin of the dispute concerning the worship of images.

IX. Of all the controversies which agitated and perplexed the Christian church during this century, that which arose concerning the worship of

[*p*] This treatise is extant in the works of Alcuin, published by Quercetanus, tom. ii. p. 1918.

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images in Greece, and was carried from thence into both the eastern and western provinces, was the most unhappy and pernicious in its consequences. The first sparks of this terrible flame, that had like to have proved fatal both to the interests of religion and government, had already appeared under the reign of Philippicus Bardanes, who was created emperor of the Greeks a little after the commencement of this century. This prince, with the consent of John, patriarch of Constantinople, ordered a picture, which represented the sixth general council, to be pulled down from its place in the church of St. Sophia, A. D. 712; because this council had condemned the Monothelites, whose cause the emperor espoused with the greatest ardour and vehemence. Nor did Bardanes stop here; but sent immediately an order to Rome to remove all images of that nature from the churches and other places of worship. His orders, however, were far from being received with submission, or producing their designed effect; on the contrary, Constantine, the Roman pontiff, not only rejected, by a formal protest, the imperial edict, but resolved to express his contempt of it by his actions as well as his words: he ordered six pictures, representing the six general councils, to be placed in the porch of St. Peter's church; and, that no act of rebellion or arrogance might be left unemployed, he assembled a council at Rome, in which he caused the emperor himself to be condemned as an apostate from the true religion. These first tumults were quelled by a revolution, which, the year following, deprived Bardanes of the imperial throne [q].

[q] See Fred. Spanhemii Historia Imaginum Restituta, which is published in the second volume of his works, and also printed apart. Maimbourg's history of this controversy, which is full of the most absurd and malignant fictions. Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 221.

Its progress under Leo the Isaurian.

X. The dispute, however, broke out with redoubled fury under Leo the Isaurian, a prince of the greatest resolution and intrepidity, and the new tumults it excited were both violent and durable. Leo, unable to bear any longer the excessive height to which the Greeks carried their superstitious attachment to the worship of images, and the sharp railleries and serious reproaches which this idolatrous service drew upon the Christians from the Jews and Saracens, determined, by the most vigorous proceedings, to root out at once this growing evil. For this purpose he issued out an edict, A. D. 726, by which it was ordered, not only that the worship of images should be abrogated and relinquished, but also that all the images, except that of Christ's crucifixion, should be removed out of the churches [r]. In this proceeding the emperor acted more from the impulse of his natural character, which was warm and vehement, than from the dictates of prudence, which avoids precipitancy where prejudices are to be combated, and destroys and mines inveterate superstitions rather by slow and imperceptible attacks than by open and violent assaults. The imperial edict produced such effects as might have been expected from the frantic enthusiasm of a superstí-

☞ [r] In this account of the imperial edict, Dr. Mosheim follows the opinions of Baronius, Fleury, and Le Sueur. Others affirm, with more probability, that this famous edict did not enjoin the pulling down images every where, and casting them out of the churches, but only prohibited the paying to them any kind of adoration or worship. It would seem as if Leo was not, at first, averse to the use of images, as ornaments, or even as helps to devotion and memory: for at the same time that he forbade them to be worshipped, he ordered them to be placed higher in the churches, say some, to avoid this adoration; but afterwards finding that they were the occasion of idolatry, he had them removed from the churches, and broken.

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tious people. A civil war broke out in the islands of the Archipelago, ravaged a part of Asia, and afterwards reached Italy. The people, partly from their own ignorance, but principally in consequence of the perfidious suggestions of the priests and monks, who had artfully rendered the worship of images a source of opulence to their churches and cloisters, were led to regard the emperor as an apostate, and hence they considered themselves as freed from their oath of allegiance, and from all the obligations that attach subjects to their lawful sovereign.

The contests between the partisans of images who were called Iconoduli, and their opposers who were called Iconoclastæ.

XI. The Roman pontiffs, Gregory I. and II. were the authors and ringleaders of these civil commotions and insurrections in Italy. The former, upon the emperor's refusing to revoke his edict against images, declared him, without hesitation, unworthy of the name and privileges of a Christian, and thus excluded him from the communion of the church; and no sooner was this formidable sentence made public, than the Romans, and other Italian provinces, that were subject to the Grecian empire, violated their allegiance, and rising in arms, either massacred or banished all the emperor's deputies and officers. Leo, exasperated by these insolent proceedings, resolved to chastise the Italian rebels, and to make the haughty pontiff feel, in a particular manner, the effects of his resentment; but he failed in the attempt. Doubly irritated by this disappointment, he vented his fury against images, and their worshippers, in the year 730, in a much more terrible manner than he had hitherto done; for, in a council assembled at Constantinople, he degraded from his office Germanus, the bishop of that imperial city, who was a patron of images, put Anastasius in his place, ordered all the images to be publicly burnt, and inflicted a variety of severe punishments upon such as were

attached to that idolatrous worship. These rigorous measures divided the Christian church into two violent factions, whose contests were carried on with an ungoverned rage, and produced nothing but mutual invectives, crimes, and assassinations. Of these factions, the one adopted the adoration and worship of images, and were on that account called Iconoduli or Iconolatræ; while the other maintained that such worship was unlawful, and that nothing was more worthy of the zeal of Christians, than to demolish and destroy those statues and pictures that were the occasions and objects of this gross idolatry, and hence they were distinguished by the titles of Iconomachi and Iconoclastæ. The furious zeal which Gregory II. had shown in defending the odious superstition of image worship was not only imitated, but even surpassed, by his successor, who was the third pontiff of that name; and though, at this distance of time, we are not acquainted with all the criminal circumstances that attended the intemperate zeal of these insolent prelates, yet we know with the utmost certainty, that it was owing to their extravagant attachment to image-worship that the Italian provinces were torn from the Grecian empire [*s*].

[*s*] The Greek writers tell us, that both the Gregories carried their insolence so far as to excommunicate Leo and his son Constantine, to dissolve the obligation of the oath of allegiance, which the people of Italy had taken to these princes, and to prohibit their paying tribute to them, or shewing them any marks of submission and obedience. These facts are also acknowledged by many of the partisans of the Roman pontiffs, such as Baronius, Sigonius De Regno Italiæ, and their numerous followers. On the other hand, some learned writers, particularly among the French, alleviate considerably the crime of the Gregories, and positively deny that they either excommunicated the emperors above-mentioned, or called off the people from their duty and allegiance. See Launoius, Epistolar. lib. vii. Ep. vii. p. 456. tom. v. opp. par. II. Nat. Alexander. Select. Histor. Eccle-

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Their progress under Constantine Copronymus.

XII. Constantine, to whom the furious tribe of the image worshippers had given by way of derision the name of Copronymus [*t*], succeeded his father Leo in the empire, A. D. 741, and, animated with an equal zeal and ardour against the new idolatry, employed all his influence in extirpating and abolishing the worship of images, in opposition to the vigorous efforts of the Roman pontiffs, and the superstitious monks. His manner of proceeding was attended with greater marks of equity and moderation than had appeared in the measures pursued by Leo; for, knowing the respect which the Greeks had for the decisions of general councils, whose authority they considered as supreme and unlimited, in religious matters, he assembled at Constantinople, A. D. 754, a council composed of the eastern bishops, in order to have this important question examined with the utmost care, and decided with wisdom, seconded by a just and lawful authority. This

siast. Capit. Sæc. viii. Dissert. i. p. 456. Petr. de Marca, Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. iii. cap. xi. Bossuet, Defens. Declarationis Cleri Gallic. de Potestate Eccles. par. I. lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 197. Giannone, Histoire Civile de Naples, tom. i. p. 400. All these found their opinions, concerning the conduct of the Gregories, chiefly upon the authority of the Latin writers, such as Anastasius, Paul Deacon, and others, who seem to have known nothing of that audacious insolence, with which these pontiffs are said to have opposed the emperors, and even represent them as having given several marks of their submission and obedience to the imperial authority. Such are the contrary accounts of the Greek and Latin writers; and the most prudent use we can make of them is, to suspend our judgment with respect to a matter, which the obscurity that covers the history of this period renders it impossible to clear up. All that we can know with certainty is, that the zeal of the two pontiffs abovementioned for the worship of images, furnished to the people of Italy the occasion of falling from their allegiance to the Grecian emperors.

☞ [*t*] This nick-name was given to Constantine, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism.

assembly, which the Greeks regard as the seventh œcumenical council, gave judgment, as was the custom of those times, in favour of the opinion embraced by the emperor, and solemnly condemned the worship and also the use of images [*u*]. But this decision was not sufficient to vanquish the blind obstinacy of superstition; many adhered still to their idolatrous worship, and none made a more turbulent resistance to the wise decree of this council than the monks, who still continued to excite commotions in the state, and to blow the flames of sedition and rebellion among the people. Their malignity was, however, chastised by Constantine, who, filled with a just indignation at their seditious practices, punished several of them in an exemplary manner, and by new laws set bounds to the violence of monastic rage. Leo IV. who, after the death of Constantine, was declared emperor, A. D. 775, adopted the sentiments of his father and grandfather, and pursued the measures which they had concerted for the extirpation of idolatry out of the Christian church; for having perceived that the worshippers of images could not be engaged by mild and gentle proceedings to abandon this superstitious practice, he had recourse to the coercive influence of penal laws.

XIII. A cup of poison, administered by the impious counsel of a perfidious spouse, deprived Leo IV. of his life, A. D. 780, and rendered the idolatrous cause of images triumphant. The profligate Irene, after having thus accomplished the death of her husband, held the reins of empire during the minority of her son Constantine; and, to establish her authority on more

Under Irene.

☞ [*u*] The authority of this council is not acknowledged by the Roman Catholics, no more than the obligation of the second commandment, which they have prudently struck out of the decalogue.

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solid foundations, entered into an alliance with Adrian, bishop of Rome, A. D. 786, and summoned a council at Nice in Bithynia, which is known by the title of the second Nicene council. In this assembly the imperial laws concerning the new idolatry were abrogated, the decrees of the council of Constantinople reversed, the worship of images and of the cross restored, and severe punishments denounced against such as maintained that God was the only object of religious adoration. It is impossible to imagine any thing more ridiculous and trifling than the arguments upon which the bishops, assembled in this council, founded their decrees [*w*]. The authority, however, of these decrees was held sacred by the Romans, and the Greeks considered in the light of parricides and traitors all such as refused to submit to them. The other enormities of the flagitious Irene, and her deserved fate, cannot, with propriety, be treated of here.

The council of Francfort.

XIV. In these violent contests, the most of the Latins, such as the Britons, Germans, and Gauls, seemed to steer a middle way between the opposite tenets of the contending parties. They were of opinion that images might be lawfully preserved, and even placed in the churches, but, at the same time, they looked upon all worship of them as highly injurious and offensive to the Supreme Being [*x*]. Such, particularly, were the sentiments of Charlemagne, who distinguished himself in this important controversy. By the advice of the French bishops, who were no friends to this second council of Nice, he ordered some

[*w*] Mart. Chemnitius, Examen Concilii Tridentini, par. iv. loc. ii. cap. v. p. 52. Lenfant, Preservatif. contre la Reunion avec le Siege de Rome, par. iii. lettre xvii. p. 446.

[*x*] The aversion the Britons had to the worship of images, may be seen in Spelman ad Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 73.

learned and judicious divine to compose Four Books concerning Images, which he sent, in the year 790, to Adrian, the Roman pontiff, with a view to engage him to withdraw his approbation of the decrees of that council. In this performance the reasons alleged by the Nicene bishops to justify the worship of images are refuted with great accuracy and spirit [*y*]. They were not, however, left without defence; Adrian, who was afraid of acknowledging even an emperor for his master, composed an answer to the Four Books mentioned above, but neither his arguments, nor his authority, were sufficient to support the superstition he endeavoured to maintain; for, in the year 794, Charlemagne assembled, at Francfort on the Maine, a council of three hundred bishops, in order to re-examine this important question; in which the opinion contained in the Four Books was solemnly confirmed, and the worship of images unanimously condemned [*z*]. From hence we may conclude, that in this century the Latins

[*y*] The books of Charlemagne concerning Images, which deserve an attentive perusal, are yet extant; and when they were become extremely scarce, were republished at Hanover, in 8vo, in 1731, by the celebrated Christopher. Aug. Heuman, who enriched this edition with a learned preface. These books are adorned with the venerable name of Charlemagne; but it is easy to perceive that they are the production of a scholastic divine, and not of an emperor. Several learned men have conjectured, that Charlemagne composed these books with the assistance of his preceptor Alcuin; see Heumauni Præf. p. 51. and Bunau Historia Imperii German. tom. i. p. 490. This conjecture, though far from being contemptible, cannot be admitted without hesitation; since Alcuin was in England when these books were composed. We learn from the history of his life, that he went into England, A. D. 789, and did not return from thence before 792.

[*z*] This event is treated with a degree of candour not more laudable, than surprising, by Mabillon, in Præf. ad Sæculum iv. Actorum SS. Ord. Benedict. part V. See also Jo. Georg. Dorscheus, Collat. ad Concilium Francofordiense Argentor. 1649, in 1to.

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deemed it neither impious, nor unlawful, to dissent from the opinion of the Roman pontiff, and even to charge that prelate with error.

The controversy about the derivation of the Holy Ghost.

XV. While the controversy concerning images was at its height, a new contest arose among the Latins and Greeks about the source from whence the Holy Ghost proceeded. The Latins affirmed, that this divine Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son: the Greeks, on the contrary, asserted, that it proceeded from the Father only. The origin of this controversy is covered with perplexity and doubt. It is, however, certain, that it was agitated in the council of Gentilli, near Paris, A. D. 767, in presence of the emperor's legates [*a*], and from this we may conclude, with a high degree of probability, that it arose in Greece at that time when the contest about images was carried on with the greatest vehemence. In this controversy the Latins alleged, in favour of their opinions, the creed of Constantinople, which the Spaniards and French had successively corrupted (upon what occasion is not well known), by adding the word *filioque* in that part of it which contained the doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost. The Greeks, on the other hand, made loud complaints of this criminal attempt of the Latins to corrupt by a manifest interpolation a creed, which served as a rule of doctrine for the church universal, and declared this attempt impudent and sacrilegious. Thus, the dispute changed at length its object, and was transferred from the matter to the interpolated word abovementioned [*b*]; in the following century it was

[*a*] See Le Cointe, Annales Eccles. Francorum, tom. v. p. 698.

[*b*] Learned men generally imagine that this controversy began about the word *filioque*, which some of the Latins had added to the creed that had been drawn up by the council of

carried on with still greater vehemence, and added new fuel to the dissensions which already portended a schism between the eastern and western churches [c]. CENT. VIII. PART II.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

I. THE religion of this century consisted almost entirely in a motley round of external rites and ceremonies. We are not, therefore, to wonder that more zeal and diligence were employed in multiplying and regulating these outward marks of a superstitious devotion than in Ceremonies multiplied.

Constantinople, and that from the word the dispute proceeded to the doctrine itself; see Mabillon, Act. Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iv. part I. Præf. p. iv. who is followed by many in this opinion. But this opinion is certainly erroneous. The doctrine was the first subject of controversy, which afterwards extended to the word *filioque*, considered by the Greeks as a manifest interpolation. Among other proofs of this, the council of Gentilli shows evidently, that the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit had been, for a considerable time, the subject of controversy when the dispute arose about the word now mentioned. Pagi, in his Critica in Baronium, tom. iii. p. 323. is of opinion, that this controversy had both its date and its occasion from the dispute concerning images: for, when the Latins treated the Greeks as heretics, on account of their opposition to image worship, the Greeks in their turn charged the Latins also with heresy, on account of their maintaining that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. The learned critic has, however, advanced this opinion without sufficient proof, and we must therefore consider it as no more than a probable conjecture.

[c] See Pithoei Hist. Controv. de Processione Spiritus S. at the end of his Codex Canon. Eccles. Roman. p. 355. Le Quien, Oriens Christian. tom. iii. p. 354. Ger. J. Vossius, De Tribus Symbolis, Diss. iii. p. 65; and above all, Jo. Georg. Walchius, Histor. Controv. de Processione Spiritus S. published in 8vo. at Jena, in 1751.

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correcting the vices and follies of men, in enlightening their understandings, and forming their hearts. The administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which was deemed the most solemn and important branch of divine worship, was now every where embellished, or rather deformed, with a variety of senseless fopperies, which destroyed the beautiful simplicity of that affecting and salutary institution. We also find manifest traces in this century, of that superstitious custom of celebrating what were called solitary masses [*d*], though it be difficult to decide whether they were instituted by a public law, or introduced by the authority of private persons [*e*]. Be that as it may, this single custom is sufficient to give us an idea of the superstition and darkness that sat brooding over the Christian church in this ignorant age, and renders it unnecessary to enter into a further detail of the absurd rites with which a designing priesthood continued to disfigure the religion of Jesus.

Charlemagne's zeal for the rites of the church of Rome.

II. Charlemagne seemed disposed to stem this torrent of superstition, which gathered force from day to day; for, not to mention the zeal with which he opposed the worship of images, there are other circumstances that bear testimony to his intentions in this matter, such as his preventing the multiplication of festivals, by reducing them to a fixed and limited number, his prohibiting the ceremony of consecrating the

☞ [*d*] Solitary or private masses were those that were celebrated by the priest alone in behalf of souls detained in purgatory, as well as upon some other particular occasions. These masses were prohibited by the laws of the church, but they were a rich source of profit to the clergy. They were condemned by the canons of a synod assembled at Mentz under Charlemagne, as criminal innovations, and as the fruits of avarice and sloth.

[*e*] See Charlemagne's book concerning Images, p. 245; as also George Calixtus, De Missis Solitariis, sect. 12.

church bells by the rite of holy aspersion, and other ecclesiastical laws of his enacting, which redound to his honour. Several circumstances, however, concurred to render his designs abortive, and to blast the success of his worthy purposes, and none more than his excessive attachment to the Roman pontiffs, who were the patrons and protectors of those who exerted themselves in the cause of ceremonies. This vehement passion for the lordly pontiff was inherited by the great prince of whom we are now speaking, from his father Pepin, who had already commanded the manner of singing, and the kind of church-music in use at Rome, to be observed every where in all Christian churches. It was in conformity with his example, and in compliance with the repeated and importunate solicitation of the pontiff Adrian, that Charlemagne laboured to bring all the Latin churches to follow, as their model, the church of Rome, not only in the article now mentioned, but also in the whole form of their worship, in every circumstance of their religious service [*f*]. Several churches, however, among which those of Milan and Corbetta distinguished themselves eminently, absolutely rejected this proposal, and could neither be brought, by persuasion nor violence, to change their usual method of worship.

[*f*] See Charlemagne's Treatise concerning Images, Book I. p. 52. Eginard, De Vita Caroli Magni, cap. 26. p. 94. edit. Besselii.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this Century.

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The ancient sects recover strength.

I. THE Arians, Manicheans, and Marcionites, though often depressed by the force of penal laws and the power of the secular arm, gathered strength in the east, amidst the tumults and divisions with which the Grecian empire was perpetually agitated, and drew great numbers into the profession of their opinions [g]. The Monothelites, to whose cause the emperor Philippicus, and many others of the first rank and dignity were most zealous well-wishers, regained their credit in several places. The condition also of both the Nestorians and Monophysites was easy and agreeable under the dominion of the Arabians; their power and influence was considerable; nor were they destitute of means of weakening the Greeks, their irreconcileable adversaries, and of spreading their doctrines, and multiplying every where the number of their adherents.

Clemens and Adalbert.

II. In the church which Boniface had newly erected in Germany, he himself tells us, that there were many perverse and erroneous reprobates, who had no true notion of religion, and his friends and adherents confirm this assertion. But the testimony both of the one and the others is undoubtedly partial, and unworthy of credit; since it appears from the most evident proofs, that the persons here accused of errors and heresies were Irish and French divines, who refused that blind submission to the church of Rome, which Boniface was so zealous to propagate every where.

[g] In Europe also Arianism prevailed greatly among the barbarous nations that embraced the Christian faith.

Adalbert, a Gaul, and Clement, a native of Ireland, were the persons whose opposition gave the most trouble to the ambitious legate. The former got himself consecrated bishop, without the consent of Boniface, excited seditions and tumults among the eastern Franes, and appears, indeed, to have been both flagitious in his conduct, and erroneous in his opinions; among other irregularities, he was the forger [*h*] of a letter to the human race, which was said to have been written by Jesus Christ, and to have been carried from heaven by the arch-angel Michael [*i*]. As to Clement, his character and sentiments were maliciously misrepresented, since it appears, by the best and most authentic accounts, that he was much better acquainted with the true principles and doctrines of Christianity, than Boniface himself; and hence he is considered by many as a confessor and sufferer for the truth in this barbarous age [*k*]. Be that as it will, both Adalbert and Clement were condemned, at the instigation of Boniface, by the pontiff Zachary, in a council assembled at Rome, A. D. 748 [*l*], and in conse-

[*h*] See the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 82.

[*i*] There is an edition of this letter published by the learned Stephen Baluzius, in the Capitularia Regum Francorum, tom. ii. p. 1396.

[*k*] We find an enumeration of the erroneous opinions of Clement in the letters of Boniface Epistol. cxxxv. p. 189. See also Usserii Sylloge Epistolarum Hibernicarum, p. 12. Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Critic. tom. i. p. 133. ☞ The zealous Boniface was too ignorant to be a proper judge of heresy, as appears by his condemning Virgilius for believing that there were antipodes. The great heresy of Clement seems to have been his preferring the decisions of scripture to decrees of councils and the opinions of the fathers, which he took the liberty to reject when they were not conformable to the word of God.

☞ [*l*] This is the true date of the council assembled by Zachary for the condemnation of Adalbert and Clement, and not

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quence thereof were committed to prison, where, in all probability, they concluded their days.

Felix and Elipand.

III. Religious discord ran still higher in Spain, France, and Germany, towards the conclusion of this century; and the most unhappy tumults and commotions were occasioned by a question proposed to Felix bishop of Urgella, by Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, who desired to know in what sense Christ was the Son of God? The answer which the former gave to this question, was, that Christ, considered in his divine nature, was truly and essentially the Son of God; but that, considered as a man, he was only so, nominally and by adoption. This doctrine was spread abroad by the two prelates; Elipand propagated it in the different provinces of Spain, and Felix throughout Septimania, while the pontiff Adrian, and the greatest part of the Latin doctors, looked upon this opinion as a renovation of the Nestorian heresy, by its representing Christ, as divided into two distinct persons. In consequence of this, Felix was successively condemned by the councils of Narbonne, Ratisbon, Francfort on the Maine, and Rome: and was finally obliged, by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, to retract his error, and to change his opinion [*m*]. The change he made was, however, rather nominal than real, the com-

the year 745, as Fleury * and Mabillon † have pretended, in which error they are followed by Mr. Bower in the third volume of his History of the Popes, p. 325. The proof is, that the letter of Boniface, in consequence of which this council was assembled, must have been wrote in the year 748; since he declares in that letter, that he had been near thirty years legate of the holy see of Rome, into which commission he entered, as all authors agree, about the year 719.

☞ [*m*] The council of Narbonne that condemned Felix was held in the year 788, that of Ratisbon in 792, that of Francfort in 794, that of Rome in 799.

* Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. ix. p. 296. † Annal. Ord. Benedict. lib. xxii. n. 8.

mon shift of temporising divines; for he still retained his doctrine, and died in the firm belief of it at Lyons, where he had been banished by Charlemagne [*n*]. Elipand, on the contrary, lived secure in Spain under the dominion of the Saracens, far removed from the thunder of synods and councils, and out of the reach of that coercive power in religious matters, whose utmost efforts can go no further than to make the erroneous hypocrites or martyrs. Many are of opinion, that the disciples of Felix, who were called Adoptians, departed much less from the doctrine generally received among Christians, than is commonly imagined; and that what chiefly distinguished their tenets was the term they used, and their manner of expression, rather than a real diversity of sentiments [*o*]. But as this sect, together with their chief, thought proper to make use of singular, and sometimes of contradictory expressions; this furnished such as accused them of Nestorianism with very plausible reasons to support their charge.

[*n*] The authors, who have written concerning the sect of Felix, are mentioned by J. Alb. Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 482. Add to these Petrus de Marca, in his Marca Hispanica, lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 368. Jo. de Ferreras, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 518. 523. 528. 585. 560. Jo. Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Actor. SS. Ord. Benedicti, par. ii. There are also very particular accounts given of Felix by Dom. Colonia, Histoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon, tom. ii. p. 79. and by the Benedictine monks in their Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 434.

[*o*] Jo. George Dorscheus, Collat. ad Concilium Francofurt. p. 101. Werenfels, De Logomachiis Eruditor. p. 459. Opp. Jac. Basnagius, Præf. ad Etherium in Henr. Canisii Lection. antiquis, tom. ii. part I. p. 284. George Calixtus, Singul. Diss.

THE

NINTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the Church during this Century.

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The Swedes, Danes, and Cimbrians converted.

I. THE reign of Charlemagne had been singularly auspicious to the Christian cause; the life of that great prince was principally employed in the most zealous efforts to propagate and establish the religion of Jesus among the Huns, Saxons, Frieslanders, and other unenlightened nations; but his piety was mixed with violence, his spiritual conquests were generally made by the force of arms, and this impure mixture tarnishes the lustre of his noblest exploits. His son Lewis, undeservedly surnamed the Meek, inherited the defects of his illustrious father without his virtues, and was his equal in violence and cruelty, but vastly his inferior in all worthy and valuable accomplishments. Under his reign a very favourable opportunity was offered of propagating the gospel among the northern nations, and particularly among the inhabitants of Sweden and Denmark. A petty king of Jutland, named Harald

Klack, being driven from both his kingdom and country, in the year 826, by Regner Lodbrock, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and implored his succours against the usurper. Lewis granted his request, and promised the exiled prince his protection and assistance, on condition, however, that he would embrace Christianity, and admit the ministers of that religion to preach in his dominions. Harald submitted to these conditions, was baptized with his brother at Mentz, A. D. 826, and returned into his country attended by two eminent divines, Ansgar or Anschaire, and Authbert; the former a monk of Corbey in Westphalia, and the latter belonging to a monastery of the same name in France. These venerable missionaries preached the gospel with remarkable success, during the space of two years, to the inhabitants of Cimbria and Jutland.

The promotion and labours of Ansgar.

II. After the death of his learned and pious companion Authbert, the zealous and indefatigable Ansgar made a voyage into Sweden, A. D. 828, where his ministerial labours were also crowned with a distinguished success. As he returned from thence into Germany in the year 831, he was loaded by Lewis the Meek with ecclesiastical honours, being created archbishop of the new church at Hamburgh, and also of the whole north, to which dignity the superintendance of the church at Bremen was afterwards added in the year 844. The profits attached to this high and honourable charge were very inconsiderable; while the perils and labours, in which it involved the pious prelate, were truly formidable. Accordingly Ansgar travelled frequently among the Danes, Cimbrians, and Swedes, in order to promote the cause of Christ, to form new churches, and to confirm and establish those which he had already gathered together; in all which arduous enterprizes he passed his life in the most imminent

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dangers, until he concluded his glorious course, A. D. 865 [a].

Conversion of the Bulgarians, Bohemians, and Moravians.

III. About the middle of this century the Mœsians [b], Bulgarians, and Gazarians, and after them the Bohemians and Moravians, were converted to Christianity by Methodius and Cyril, two Greek monks, whom the empress Theodora had sent to dispel the darkness of those idolatrous nations [c]. The zeal of Charlemagne, and his pious missionaries, had been formerly exerted in the same cause, and among the same people [d], but with so little success, that any faint notions which they had received of the Christian doctrine were entirely effaced. The instructions of the Grecian doctors had a much better, and also a more permanent effect; but as they recommended to their new disciples the forms of worship, and the various rites and ceremonies used among the Greeks [e], this was the occasion of much religious animosity and conten-

[a] The writers to whom we are indebted for accounts of this pious and illustrious prelate, the founder of the Cimbrian, Danish, and Swedish churches, are mentioned by Jo. Albert. Fabricius, in his Biblioth. Latin. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 292: as also in his Lux Evangelii Orbi Terrarum exoriens, p. 425. Add to these the Benedictine monks, in their Histoire Lit. de la France, tom. v. p. 277. Acta Sanctor. Mens Februar. tom. i. p. 391. Erici Pontoppidani Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici, tom. i. p. 18. Jo. Mollerus, Cimbriæ Litterata, tom. iii. p. 8. These writers give us also circumstantial accounts of Ebbo, Withmar, Rembert, and others, who were either the fellow-labourers or successors of Ansgar.

☞ [b] We have translated thus the term Mysi, which is an error in the original. Dr. Mosheim, like many others, has confounded the Mysians with the inhabitants of Mœsia, by giving the latter, who were Europeans, the title of the former, who dwelt in Asia.

[c] Jo. George Stredowsky, Sacra Moraviæ Historia, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 94. compared with Pet. Kohlii Introduc. in Historiam et rem Litter. Sclavorum, p. 124.

[d] Stredowsky, loc. cit. lib. i. cap. ix. p. 55.

[e] Lenfant, Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites, livr. i. ch. i. p. 2.

tion in after-times, when the lordly pontiffs exerted all their vehemence, and employed every means, though with imperfect success, of reducing these nations under the discipline and jurisdiction of the Latin church.

Of the Slavonians and Russians.

IV. Under the reign of Basilius, the Macedonian, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks in the year 867, the Slavonians, Arentani, and certain provinces of Dalmatia, sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, to declare their resolution of submitting to the jurisdiction of the Grecian empire, and of embracing, at the same time, the Christian religion. This proposal was received with admiration and joy, and it was also answered by a suitable ardour and zeal for the conversion of a people, which seemed so ingenuously disposed to embrace the truth: accordingly, a competent number of Grecian doctors were sent among them to instruct them in the knowledge of the gospel, and to admit them by baptism into the Christian church [*f*]. The warlike nations of the Russians were converted under the same emperor, but not in the same manner, nor from the same noble and rational motives. Having entered into a treaty of peace with that prince, they were engaged by various presents and promises to embrace the gospel, in consequence of which they received not only the Christian ministers that were appointed to instruct them, but also an archbishop, whom the Grecian patriarch Ignatius had sent among them, to perfect their conversion and establish their

[*f*] We are indebted for this account of the conversion of the Slavonians to the treatise De Administrando Imperio, composed by the learned emperor Constantine Porphyrogen, which is published by Bandurius in Imperium Orientale, tom. i. p. 72, 73. Constantine gives the same account of this event in the life of his grandfather Basilius, the Macedonian, sect. 54. published in the Corpus Byzantinum, tom. xvi. p. 133, 134.

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church [g]. Such were the beginnings of Christianity among the bold and warlike Russians, who were inhabitants of the Ukraine, and who, a little before their conversion, fitted out a formidable fleet, and setting sail from Kiovia for Constantinople, spread terror and dismay through the whole empire [h].

The nature of these conversions.

V. It is proper to observe, with respect to the various conversions which we have now been relating, that they were undertaken upon much better principles, and executed in a more pious and rational manner, than those of the preceding ages. The ministers, who were now sent to instruct and convert the barbarous nations, employed not, like many of their predecessors, the terror of penal laws, to affright men into the profession of Christianity; nor, in establishing churches upon the ruins of idolatry, were they principally

[g] Constantinus, Porph. Vita Basilii Macedonis, sect. 96. p. 157. Corp. Byzant. See also the Narratio de Ruthenorum Conversione, published both in Greek and Latin by Bandurius, in his Imperium Orientale, Notis ad Porphyrogenetam de Administrando Imperio, p. 62. tom. ii.

[h] The learned Lequien, in his Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 1257, gives a very inaccurate account of these Russians who were converted to Christianity under the reign of Basilius the Macedonian, and in this he does no more than adopt the errors of many who wrote before him upon the same subject. Nor is he consistent with himself, for in one place he affirms, that the people here spoken of were the Russians that lived in the neighbourhood of the Bulgarians; while in another he maintains, that by these Russians we are to understand the Gazarians. The only reason he alleges to support this latter opinion is, that among the Christian doctors sent to instruct the Russians, mention is made of Cyril, who converted the Gazari to Christianity. This reason shows, that the learned writer had a most imperfect knowledge both of these Russians and the Gazari. He is also guilty of other mistakes upon the same subject. There is a much better explanation of this matter given by the very learned Theoph. Sigifred. Bayer, in his Dissert. de Russorum prima Expeditione Constantinopolitana, which is published in the sixth volume of the Commentaria Acad. Scientiar. Petropolitanæ.

attentive to promote the grandeur and extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs; their views were more noble, and their conduct more suitable, to the genius of the religion they professed. They had principally in view the happiness of mankind, endeavoured to promote the gospel of truth and peace by the methods of a rational persuasion, and seconded their arguments by the victorious power of exemplary lives. It must, however, be confessed, that the doctrine they taught was far from being conformable to that pure and excellent rule of faith and practice laid down by our divine Saviour and his holy apostles; their religious system was, on the contrary, corrupted with a variety of superstitious rites, and a multitude of absurd inventions. It is further certain, that there remained among these converted nations too many traces of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, notwithstanding the zealous labours of their Christian guides: and it appears also, that these pious missionaries were contented with introducing an external profession of the true religion among their new proselytes. It would be, however, unjust to accuse them on this account of negligence or corruption in the discharge of their ministry; since, in order to gain over these fierce and savage nations to the church, it may have been absolutely necessary to indulge them in some of their infirmities and prejudices, and to connive at many things, which they could not approve, and which, in other circumstances, they would have been careful to correct.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

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The progress of the Saracens towards universal empire.

I. THE Saracens had now extended their usurpations with an amazing success. Masters of Asia, a few provinces excepted, they pushed their conquests to the extremities of India, and obliged the greatest part of Africa to receive their yoke; nor were their enterprizes in the west without effect, since Spain and Sardinia submitted to their arms, and fell under their dominion. But their conquests did not end here; for in the year 827, by the treason of Euphemius, they made themselves masters of the rich and fertile island of Sicily; and towards the conclusion of this century, the Asiatic Saracens seized upon several cities of Calabria, and spread the terror of their victorious arms even to the very walls of Rome, while Crete, Corsica, and other adjacent islands, were either joined to their possessions, or laid waste by their incursions. It is easy to comprehend that this overgrown prosperity of a nation accustomed to bloodshed and rapine, and which also beheld the Christians with the utmost aversion, must have been every where detrimental to the progress of the gospel, and to the tranquillity of the church. In the east, more especially, a prodigious number of Christian families embraced the religion of their conquerors, that they might live in the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions. Many, indeed, refused this base and criminal compliance, and with a pious magnanimity adhered to their principles in the face of persecution: but such were gradually reduced to a miserable condition, and were not only robbed of the best part of their wealth, and deprived of

their worldly advantages, but, what was still more deplorable, they fell by degrees into such incredible ignorance and stupidity, that, in process of time, there were scarcely any remains of Christianity to be found among them, besides the mere name, and a few external rites and ceremonies. The European Saracens, particularly those who were settled in Spain, were of a much milder disposition, and seemed to have put off the greatest part of their native ferocity; so that the Christians, generally speaking, lived peaceably under their dominion, and were permitted to observe the laws, and to enjoy the privileges of their holy profession. It must, however, be confessed, that this mild and tolerating conduct of the Saracens was not without some few exceptions of cruelty [*i*].

II. The European Christians had the most cruel sufferings to undergo from another quarter, even from the insatiable fury of a swarm of barbarians that issued out from the northern provinces. The Normans, under which general term are comprehended the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, whose habitations lay along the coasts of the Baltic sea, were a people accustomed to carnage and rapine. Their petty kings and chiefs, who subsisted by piracy and plunder, had already, during the reign of Charlemagne, infested with their fleets the coasts of the German ocean, but were restrained by the opposition they met with from the vigilance and activity of that warlike prince. In this century, however, they became more bold and enterprising, made frequent irruptions into Germany, Britain, Friesland, and the Gauls, and carried along with them, wherever they went, fire and sword, desola-

The Normans.

[*i*] See, for an example, the account that is given of Eulogius, who suffered martyrdom at Cordoua, in the Acta Sanctorum ad d. xi. Martii, tom. ii. p. 88; as also of Roderick and Salomon, two Spanish martyrs of this century. Ibid. ad d. xiii. Martii, p. 238.

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tion and horror. The impetuous fury of these savage barbarians not only spread desolation through the Spanish provinces [*k*], but even penetrated into the very heart of Italy; for, in the year 857, they sacked and pillaged the city of Luca in the most cruel manner; and, about three years after, Pisa, and several other cities of Italy, met with the same fate [*l*]. The ancient histories of the Francs abound with the most dismal accounts of their horrid exploits.

Form new settlements.

III. The first views of these savage invaders extended no further than plunder; but charmed at length with the beauty and fertility of the provinces which they were so cruelly depopulating, they began to form settlements in them; nor were the European princes in a condition to oppose their usurpations. On the contrary, Charles the Bald was obliged, in the year 850, to resign a considerable part of his dominions to this powerful banditti [*m*]; and a few years after, under the reign of Charles the Gross, emperor and king of France, the famous Norman chief Godofred entered with an army into Friesland, and obstinately refused to sheath his sword before he

[*k*] Jo. de Ferreras, Histoire Gener. d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 583. Piracy was esteemed among the northern nations a very honourable and noble profession; and hence the sons of kings, and the young nobility, were trained up to this species of robbery, and made it their principal business to perfect themselves in it. Nor will this appear very surprising to such as consider the religion of these nations, and the barbarism of the times. See Jo. Lud. Holberg, Historia Danorum et Norvegorum Navalis, in Scriptis Societatis Scientiar. Hafniensis, tom. iii. p. 349. in which there are a multitude of curious and interesting relations concerning the ancient piracies, drawn from the Danish and Norwegian annals.

[*l*] See the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, published by Muratori.

[*m*] Annales Incerti Auctoris, in Pithoei Scriptor. Francic. p. 46.

was master of the whole province [*n*]. Such, however, of the Normans as settled among the Christians, contracted a gentler turn of mind, and gradually departed from their primitive brutality. Their marriages with the Christians contributed, no doubt, to civilize them; and engaged them to abandon the superstition of their ancestors with more facility, and to embrace the gospel with more readiness than they would have otherwise done. Thus the proud conqueror of Friesland solemnly embraced the Christian religion after that he had received in marriage, from Charles the Gross, Gisela, the daughter of Lothaire the younger.

[*n*] Reginonis Prumiensis Annal. lib. ii. f. 60. in Pistorii Scriptor. German.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy during this Century.

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The state of letters among the Greeks.

I. THE Grecian empire, in this century, was in circumstances every way proper to extinguish all taste for letters and philosophy, and all zeal for the cultivation of the sciences. The liberality, however, of the emperors, some of whom were men of learning and taste, and the wise precautions taken by the patriarchs of Constantinople, among whom Photius deserves the first rank in point of erudition, contributed to attach a certain number of learned men to that imperial city, and thus prevented the total decline of letters. Accordingly we find in Constantinople, at this time, several persons who excelled in eloquence and poetry; some who displayed, in their writings against the Latins, a considerable knowledge of the art of reasoning, and a high degree of dexterity in the management of controversy; and others who composed the history of their own times with accuracy and with elegance. The controversy with the Latins, when it grew more keen and animated, contributed, in a particular manner, to excite the literary emulation of the disputants, rendered them studious to acquire new ideas, and a rich and copious elocution, adorned with the graces of elegance and wit; and thus roused and invigorated talents that were ready to perish in indolence and sloth.

Of philosophy.

II. We learn from the accounts of Zonaras, that the study of philosophy lay for a long time neglected in this age; but it was revived, with a zeal for the sciences in general, under the emperor Theophilus, and his son Michael III. This revival of letters was principally owing [o] to the encouragement and protection which the learned received from Bardas, who had been declared Cæsar, himself a weak and illiterate man, but a warm friend of the celebrated Photius, the great patron of science, by whose council he was, undoubtedly, directed in this matter. At the head of all the learned men to whom Bardas committed the culture of the sciences, he placed Leo, surnamed the Wise, a man of the most profound and uncommon erudition, and who afterwards was consecrated bishop of Thessalonica. Photius explained the Categories of Aristotle, while Michael Psellus gave a brief exposition of the other works of that great philosopher.

The state of learning among the Arabians.

III. The Arabians, who, instead of cultivating the arts and sciences, had thought of nothing hitherto, but of extending their territories, were now excited to literary pursuits by Almamunis, otherwise called Abu Gaafar Abdallah, whose zeal for the advancement of letters was great, and whose munificence towards men of learning and genius was truly royal. Under the auspicious protection of this celebrated caliph of Babylon and Egypt, the Arabians made a rapid and astonishing progress in various kinds of learning. This excellent prince began to reign about the time of the death of Charlemagne, and died in the year 833. He erected the famous schools of Bagdad, Cufa, and Basora, and established seminaries of learning in several other cities; he drew to his court men of eminent parts by his extraordinary

[o] Annalium tom. ii. lib. xvi. p. 126. tom. x. Corporis Byzantin

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liberality, set up noble libraries in various places, had translations made of the best Grecian productions into the Arabic language at a vast expense, and employed every method of promoting the cause of learning, that became a great and generous prince, whose zeal for the sciences was attended with knowledge [*p*]. It was under the reign of this immortal caliph, that the Arabians began to take pleasure in the Grecian learning, and to propagate it, by degrees, not only in Syria and Africa, but also in Spain and Italy; and from this period they give us a long catalogue of celebrated philosophers, physicians, astronomers, and mathematicians, who were ornaments to their nation through several succeeding ages [*q*]. And in this certainly they do not boast without reason, though we are not to consider, as literally true, all the wonderful and pompous things which the more modern writers of the Saracen history tell us of these illustrious philosophers.

After this period the European Christians profited much by the Arabian learning, and were highly indebted to the Saracens for the improvement they made in the various sciences. For the mathematics, astronomy, physic, and philosophy, that were taught in Europe from the tenth century, were, for the most part, drawn from the Arabian schools that were established in Spain and Italy, or from the writings of the Arabian sages. And from hence the Saracens may, in one respect, be justly considered as the restorers of learning in Europe.

The state of letters under Charlemagne, and his successors.

IV. In that part of Europe, that was subject to the dominion of the Franes, Charlemagne la-

[*p*] Abulpharaius, Historia Dynastiar. p. 246. Georg. Elmacin. Histor. Saracen. lib. ii. p. 139. Barthol. Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. Article Mamun, p. 545.

[*q*] See the treatise of Leo Africanus, De Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus, published a second time by Fabricius, in the twelfth volume of his Bibliotheca Græca, p. 259.

boured with incredible zeal and ardour for the advancement of useful learning, and animated his subjects to the culture of the sciences in all their various branches. So that, had his successors been disposed to follow his example, and capable of acting upon the noble plan he formed, the empire, in a little time, would have been entirely delivered from barbarism and ignorance. It is true, this great prince left in his family a certain spirit of emulation, which animated his immediate successors to imitate, in some measure, his zeal for the prosperity of the republic of letters. Lewis the Meek both formed and executed several designs that were extremely conducive to the progress of the arts and sciences [*r*]; and his zeal in this respect was surpassed by the ardour with which his son Charles the Bald exerted himself in the propagation of letters, and in exciting the emulation of the learned by the most alluring marks of his protection and favour. This great patron of the sciences drew the literati to his court from all parts, took a particular delight in their conversation, multiplied and embellished the seminaries of learning, and protected, in a more especial manner, the Aulic school, of which mention has been formerly made, and which was first erected in the seventh century, in order to the education of the royal family, and the first nobility [*s*]. His brother Lothaire, endeavoured to revive in Italy the drooping sciences, and to restore them from that state of languor and decay into which the corruption and indolence of the clergy had permitted them to fall.

[*r*] See the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 583.

[*s*] Herman. Conringii Antiquit. Academicæ, p. 320. Cæs. Eg. du Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 178. Launoius, De Scholis Caroli M. cap. xi, xii. p. 47. Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. v. p. 483.

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For this purpose he erected schools in the eight principal cities of Italy, A. D. 823 [*t*], but with little success, since it appears that that country was entirely destitute of men of learning and genius during the ninth century [*u*].

In England learning had a better fate under the auspicious protection of King Alfred, who has acquired an immortal name, not only by the admirable progress he made in all kinds of elegant and useful knowledge [*w*], but also by the care he took to multiply men of letters and genius in his dominions, and to restore to the sciences, sacred and profane, the credit and lustre they so eminently deserve [*x*].

Impediments to the progress of learning.

V. But the infelicity of the times rendered the effects of all this zeal, and all these projects, for the advancement of learning, much less considerable than might have otherwise been expected. The protectors and patrons of the learned were

[*t*] See the edict for that purpose among the Capitularia in Muratorii Rerum Italicar. tom. i. part II. p. 151.

[*u*] See Muratori's Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 829.

[*w*] See Ant. Wood. Hist. et Antiquit. Academ. Oxoniens. lib. i. p. 13. Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 211. General Dictionary, at the article Alfred. (This prince, among other prous and learned labours, translated the Pastoral of Gregory I. Boetius, De Consolatione, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History.)

☞ [*x*] This excellent prince not only encouraged by his protection and liberality such of his own subjects as made any progress in the liberal arts and sciences, but invited over from foreign countries men of distinguished talents, whom he fixed in a seminary at Oxford, and, of consequence, may be looked upon as the founder of that noble university. Johannes Scotus Erigena, who had been in the service of Charles the Bald, and Grimbald, a monk of St. Bertin in France, were the most famous of those learned men who came from abroad; Asserius, Werefrid, *Plegmund*, *Dunwuf*, *Wulfsig*, and the abbot of St. Neot's, deserve the first rank among the English literati, who adorned the age of Alfred. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. I. book iii. p. 165, 166, &c. Rapin Thoyras, in the reign of this illustrious monarch.

themselves learned; their authority was respectable, and their munificence was boundless; and yet the progress of science towards perfection was but slow, because the interruptions arising from the troubled state of Europe were frequent. The discords that arose between Lewis the Meek, and his sons, which were succeeded by a rupture between the latter, retarded considerably the progress of letters in the empire; and the incursions and victories of the Normans, which afflicted Europe during the whole course of this century, were so fatal to the culture of the arts and sciences, that, in most of the European provinces, and even in France, there remained but a small number who truly deserved the title of learned men [*y*]. The wretched and incoherent fragments of erudition that yet remained among the clergy were confined to the monasteries, and to the episcopal schools; but the zeal of the monkish and priestly orders for the improvement of the mind, and the culture of the sciences, diminished in proportion as their revenues increased, so that their indolence and ignorance grew with their possessions.

Examples of learned men, who flourished in this century.

VI. It must, however, be confessed, that several examples of learned men, whose zeal for the sciences was kindled by the encouragement and munificence of Charlemagne, shone forth with a distinguished lustre through the darkness of this barbarous age. Among these, the first rank is due to Rabanus Maurus, whose fame was great through all Germany and France, and to whom the youth resorted, in prodigious numbers, from all parts, to receive his instructions in the liberal arts and sciences. The writers of history, whose works have deservedly preserved their

[*y*] Servati Lupi Epistolæ xxxiv. p. 69. Conringii Antiq. Acad. p. 322. Histoire Litter. de la France, tom. iv. p. 251.

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names from oblivion, are Eginhard, Freculph, Thegan, Hamo, Anastasius, Ado, and others of less note. Florus, Walafridus, Strabo, Bertharius, and Rabanus, excelled in poetry. Smaragdus and Bertharius were eminent for their skill in grammar and languages, as was also the celebrated Rabanus already mentioned, who acquired a very high degree of reputation by a learned and subtile treatise concerning the causes and the rise of languages. The Greek and Hebrew erudition was cultivated with considerable success by William, Servatus Lupus, Scotus, and others. Eginhard, Agobard, Hincmar, and Servatus Lupus, were much celebrated for the eloquence which appeared both in their discourses and in their writings [*z*].

Johannes Scotus Erigena.

VII. The philosophy and logic that were taught in the European schools during this century scarcely deserved such honourable titles, and were little better than an empty jargon. There were, however, to be found in various places, particularly among the Irish, men of acute parts, and extensive knowledge, who were perfectly well entitled to the appellation of philosophers. The chief of these was Johannes Scotus Erigena [*a*], a native of Ireland, the friend and companion of Charles the Bald, who delighted so much in his conversation as to honour him with a place at his table. Scotus was endowed with an excel-

[*z*] Such as are desirous of a more circumstantial account of these writers, and of their various productions, may consult the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 251, to 271. Or the more ample account given of them by the celebrated Le Beuf, in his Etat des Sciences en France depuis Charlemagne jusqu'au Roi Robert, which is published in his Recueil de divers Ecrits pour servir d'Eclaircissement à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 1. Paris 1738. en 8vo.

[*a*] Erigena signifies properly a native of Ireland, as Erin, or Irin, was the ancient name of that kingdom.

lent and truly superior genius, and was considerably versed both in Greek and Latin erudition. He explained to his disciples, the philosophy of Aristotle, for which he was singularly well qualified by his thorough knowledge of the Greek language; but as his genius was too bold and aspiring to confine itself to the authority and decisions of the Stagirite, he pushed his philosophical researches yet farther, dared to think for himself, and ventured to pursue truth without any other guide than his own reason. We have yet extant of his composition, Five Books concerning the Division of Nature, an intricate and subtile production, in which the causes and principles of all things are investigated with a considerable degree of sagacity, and in which also the precepts of Christianity are allegorically explained, yet in such a manner as to show, that their ultimate end is the union of the soul with the Supreme Being. He was the first who blended the scholastic theology with the mystic, and formed them into one system. It has also been imagined, that he was far from rejecting the opinions of those who consider the union of God and nature, as similar to the union that subsists between the soul and the body, a notion much the same with that of many ancient philosophers, who looked upon the Deity as the soul of the world. But it may, perhaps, be alleged, and not without reason, that what Scotus said upon this subject amounted to no more than what the Realists [*b*], as they are call-

☞ [*b*] The Realists, who followed the doctrine of Aristotle with respect to universal ideas, were so called in opposition to the Nominalists, who embraced the hypothesis of Zeno and the Stoics upon that perplexed and intricate subject. Aristotle held, against Plato, that previous to, and independent of matter, there were no universal ideas or essences; and that the ideas, or exemplars, which the latter supposed to have existed in the divine mind, and to have been the models of all created things, had been eternally impressed upon matter, and were coeval with, and in-

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ed, maintained afterwards, though it must be allowed that he has expressed himself in a very perplexed and obscure manner [c]. This celebrated philosopher formed no particular sect, at least as far as is come to our knowledge; and this will be considered, by those who are acquainted with the spirit of the times he lived in, as a proof that his immense learning was accompanied with meekness and modesty.

About this time there lived a certain person named Macarius, a native of Ireland, who propagated in France that enormous error, which was afterwards adopted and professed by Averroes, that one individual intelligence, one soul, performed the spiritual and rational functions in all the human race. This error was confuted by Ratram, a famous monk of Corbey [d]. Before these writers flourished, Dungal, a native of Ireland also, who left his country, and retired into a French monastery, where he lived during the reigns of Charlemagne and Lewis the Meek, and taught philosophy and astronomy with the greatest reputation [e]. Heric, a monk of Aux-

herent in, their objects. Zeno and his followers, departing both from the Platonic and Aristotelian systems, maintained that these pretended universals had neither form nor essence, and were no more than mere terms and nominal representations of their particular objects. The doctrine of Aristotle prevailed until the eleventh century, when Roscelinus embraced the Stoical system, and founded the sect of the Nominalists, whose sentiments were propagated with great success by the famous Abelard. These two sects differed considerably among themselves, and explained, or rather obscured, their respective tenets in a variety of ways.

[c] The work here alluded to was published at Oxford by Mr. Thomas Gale, in 1681. The learned Heuman has made several extracts from it, and given also an ample and learned account of Scotus, in his Acts of the Philosophers, written in German, tom. iii. p. 858.

[d] Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. iv. part II. Actor. SS. Ord. Benedicti. sect. 156. p. 53.

[e] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 493.

erre, made likewise an eminent figure among the learned of this age; he was a man of uncommon sagacity, was endowed with a great and aspiring genius, and is said, in many things, to have anticipated the famous Descartes in the manner of investigating truth [*f*].

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government during this Century.

I. THE impiety and licentiousness of the greatest part of the clergy arose, at this time, to an enormous height, and stand upon record, in the unanimous complaints of the most candid and impartial writers of this century [*g*]. In the east, tumult, discord, conspiracies, and treasons, reigned uncontrolled, and all things were carried by violence and force. These abuses appeared in many things, but particularly in the election of the patriarchs of Constantinople. The favour of the court was become the only step to that high and important office; and as the patriarch's continuance in that eminent post depended upon such an uncertain and precarious foundation, nothing was more usual than to see a prelate pulled down from his episcopal throne by an imperial decree. In the western provinces, the bishops were become voluptuous and effeminate to a very high degree. They passed their lives amidst the splendour of courts, and the plea- The corruption of the clergy.

[*f*] Le Bœuf, Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre, tom. ii. p. 481. Acta Sanctorum, tom. iv. M. Junii ad d. xxiv. p. 829. and ad d. xxxi. Jul. p. 249. For this philosopher has obtained a place among the saintly order.

[*g*] See Agobardus, De Privilegiis et Jure Sacerdotii, sect. 13. p. 137. tom. i. opp. ed. Baluzii.

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sures of a luxurious indolence, which corrupted their taste, extinguished their zeal, and rendered them incapable of performing the solemn duties of their function [*h*]; while the inferior clergy were sunk in licentiousness, minded nothing but sensual gratifications, and infected with the most heinous vices the flock, whom it was the very business of their ministry to preserve, or to deliver from the contagion of iniquity. Besides, the ignorance of the sacred order was, in many places, so deplorable, that few of them could either read or write; and still fewer were capable of expressing their wretched notions with any degree of method or perspicuity. Hence it happened, that when letters were to be penned, or any matter of consequence was to be committed to writing, they had commonly recourse to some person who was supposed to be endowed with superior abilities, as appears in the case of Servatus Lupus [*i*].

The causes of this corruption.

II. Many circumstances concurred, particularly in the European nations, to produce and augment this corruption and licentiousness, so shameful in an order of men, who were set apart to exhibit examples of piety to the rest of the world. Among these we may reckon, as the chief sources of the evil under consideration, the calamities of the times, even the bloody and perpetual wars that were carried on between Lewis the Meek and his family, the incursions and conquests of the barbarous nations, the gross and incredible ignorance of the nobility, and the affluence and riches that

[*h*] The reader will be convinced of this by consulting Agobard, passim, and by looking over the laws enacted in the Latin councils for restraining the disorders of the clergy. See also Servatus Lupus, Epist. xxxv. p. 73. 281. and Steph. Baluz. in Adnot. p. 378.

[*i*] See the works of Servatus Lupus, Epist. xcviii, xcix. p. 126. 142. 148. as also his Life. See also Rodolphi Bituricensis Capitula ad Clerum suum, in Baluzii Miscellaneis, tom. vi. p. 139. 148.

flowed in upon the churches and religious seminaries from all quarters. Many other causes also contributed to dishonour the church, by introducing into it a corrupt ministry. A nobleman, who, through want of talents, activity, or courage, was rendered incapable of appearing with dignity in the cabinet, or with honour in the field, immediately turned his views towards the church, aimed at a distinguished place among its chiefs and rulers, and became, in consequence, a contagious example of stupidity and vice to the inferior clergy [*k*]. The patrons of churches, in whom resided the right of election, unwilling to submit their disorderly conduct to the keen censure of zealous and upright pastors, industriously looked for the most abject, ignorant, and worthless ecclesiastics, to whom they committed the cure of souls [*l*]. But one of the circumstances, which contributed in a particular manner to render, at least, the higher clergy wicked and depraved, and to take off their minds from the duties of their station, was the obligation they were under of performing certain services to their sovereigns, in consequence of the possessions they derived from the royal bounty. The bishops and heads of monasteries held many lands and castles by a feudal tenure; and being thereby bound to furnish their princes with a certain number of soldiers in time of war, were obliged also to take the field themselves at the head of these troops [*m*], and thus to act in a

[*k*] Hincmarus, Oper. Posterior. contra Godeschalcum, cap. xxxvi. tom. i. Opp. p. 318. Servatus Lupus, Epist. lxxix. p. 120.

[*l*] Agobardus, De Privilegiis et Jure Sacerdotum, cap. xi. p. 341. tom. i. Opp.

[*m*] Steph. Baluzii Appendix Actor. ad Servatum, p. 508. Muratori Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 446. Mabillon. Annal. Benedic. tom. vi. p. 587. Fresne ad Joinvillii Hist. Ludovici S. p. 75, 76.

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sphere that was utterly inconsistent with the nature and duties of their sacred character. Besides all this, it often happened that rapacious princes, in order to satisfy the craving wants of their soldiers and domestics, boldly invaded the possessions of the church, which they distributed among their armies; in consequence of which the priests and monks, in order to avoid perishing through hunger, abandoned themselves to the practice of violence, fraud, and all sorts of crimes, which they looked upon as the only means they had left of procuring themselves a subsistence [n].

The Roman pontiffs.

III. The Roman pontiffs were raised to that high dignity by the suffrages of the sacerdotal order, accompanied by the voice of the people; but, after their election, the approbation of the emperor was necessary, in order to their consecration [o]. There is, indeed, yet extant, an edict, supposed to have been published in the year 817, by Lewis the Meek, in which he abolishes this imperial right, and grants to the Romans, not only the power of electing their pontiff, but also the privilege of installing and consecrating him when elected, without waiting for the consent of the emperor [p]. But this grant will deceive none who inquire into this matter with any degree of attention and diligence, since

[n] Agobardus, De Dispens. Rerum Ecclesiast. sect. 4. p. 270. tom. i. opp. Flodoardus, Histor. Eccles. Rhemensis, lib. iii. cap. ix. Servatus Lupus, Epist. xlv. p. 87. 437, &c. Muratori, tom. vi. Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, p. 302. Lud. Thomassin, Disciplina Ecclesiæ Vet. et Novæ circa Beneficia, part II. lib. iii. cap. xi. These corrupt measures prevailed also among the Greeks and Lombards, as may be seen in the Oriens Christianus of Lequien, tom. i. p. 142.

[o] See De Bunau, Histor. Imper. German. tom. iii. p. 28. 32.

[p] Harduini Concilia, tom. iv. p. 1236. Le Cointe, Annales Eccles. Francor. tom. vii. ad a. 817. sect. 6. Baluzii Capitular. Regum Francor. tom. i. p. 591.

several learned men have proved it spurious by the most irresistible arguments [q]. It must, however, be confessed, that, after the time of Charles the Bald, a new scene of things arose; and the important change above mentioned was really introduced. That prince having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the bishop of Rome, returned this eminent service by delivering the succeeding pontiffs from the obligation of waiting for the consent of the emperors, in order to their being installed in their office. And thus we find that, from the time of Eugenius III. who was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 884, the election of the bishops of Rome was carried on without the least regard to law, order, and decency, and was generally attended with civil tumults and dissensions, until the reign of Otho the Great, who put a stop to these disorderly proceedings.

The frauds practised by the Roman pontiffs to increase their power.

IV. Among the prelates that were raised to the pontificate, in this century, there were very few who distinguished themselves by their learning, prudence, and virtue, or who were at all careful about acquiring those particular qualities that are essential to the character of a Christian bishop. On the contrary, the greatest part of them are only known by the flagitious actions that have transmitted their names with infamy to our times; and they all, in general, seem to have vied with each other in their ambitious efforts to extend their authority, and render their dominion unlimited and universal. It is here that we may

[q] Muratori Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiast. p. 54. and Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 29, 30. in which that learned man conjectures, that this edict was forged in the eleventh century. Bunau, Hist. Imper. German. tom. iii. p. 34. The partisans, however, of the papal authority, such as Fontanini and others, plead strenuously, though ineffectually, for the authenticity of the edict in question.

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place with propriety, an event, which is said to have interrupted the much vaunted succession of regular bishops in the see of Rome, from the first foundation of that church to the present times. Between the pontificate of Leo IV. who died in the year 855, and that of Benedict III. a certain woman, who had the art to disguise her sex for a considerable time, is said, by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the papal chair, and to have governed the church with the title and dignity of pontiff about two years. This extraordinary person is yet known by the title of Pope Joan. During the five succeeding centuries this event was generally believed, and a vast number of writers bore testimony to its truth; nor, before the reformation undertaken by Luther, was it considered by any, either as incredible in itself, or as ignominious to the church [r]. But in the last century, the elevation, and indeed the existence of this female pontiff, became the subject of a keen and learned controversy; and several men of distinguished abilities, both among the Roman catholics and protestants, employed all the force of their genius and erudition to destroy the credit of this story, by invalidating, on the one hand, the weight of the testimonies on which it is founded, and by showing, on the other, that it was inconsistent with the most accurate chronological computations [s]. Between the contending parties, some

[r] The arguments of those who maintained the truth of this extraordinary event are collected in one striking point of view, with great learning and industry, by Fred. Spanheim, in his Exercitatio de Papa Fœmina, tom. ii. opp. p. 577. This dissertation was translated into French by the celebrated L'Enfant, who digested it into a better method, and enriched it with several additions.

[s] The arguments of those who reject the story of Pope Joan as a fable, have been collected by David Blondel, and after him with still more art and erudition by Bayle, in

of the wisest and most learned writers have judiciously steered a middle course; they grant that many fictitious and fabulous circumstances have been interwoven with this story; but they deny that it is entirely destitute of all foundation, or that the controversy is yet ended, in a satisfactory manner, in favour of those who dispute the truth. And, indeed, upon a deliberate and impartial view of this whole matter, it will appear more than probable, that some unusual event must have happened at Rome, from which this story derived its origin; because it is not at all credible, from any principles of moral evidence, that an event should be universally believed and related in the same manner by a multitude of historians, during five centuries immediately succeeding its supposed date, if that event was absolutely destitute of all foundation. But what it was that gave rise to this story is yet to be discovered, and is likely to remain so [*t*].

the third volume of his Dictionary, at the article Papesse. Add to this Jo. Georg. Eccard, Histor. Franciæ Oriental. tom. ii. lib. xxx. sect. 119. p. 436. which author has adopted and appropriated the sentiments of the great Leibnitz, upon the matter in question. See also Lequien's Oriens Christian. tom. iii. p. 777. and Heuman's Sylloge Dissert. Sacr. tom. i. part II. p. 352. The very learned Jo. Christoph. Wagenselius has given a just and accurate view of the arguments on both sides, which may be seen in the Amœnitates Litterariæ of Schelhornius, part I. p. 146. and the same has been done by Basnage, in his Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 408. A list of the other writers, who have employed their labours upon this intricate question, may be seen in Casp. Sagittarius's Introd. in Hist. Eccles. tom. i. cap. xxv. p. 676. and in the Biblioth. Bremens. tom. viii. part V. p. 935.

[*t*] Such is the opinion of Paul Sarpi, in his Lettere Italiane, Lett. lxxxii. p. 452; of Lenfant, Biblioth. Germanique, tom. x. p. 27; of Theod. Hasæus, Biblioth. Bremens. tom. viii. part V. p. 935; and of the celebrated Pfaff Instit. Histor. Eccles. p. 402; to whom we might add Werasdorf, Boecler, Holberg, and many others, were this enumeration necessary. Without assuming the character of a judge

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V. The enormous vices, that must have covered so many pontiffs with infamy in the judgment of the wise, formed not the least obstacle to their ambition in these miserable times, nor hindered them from extending their influence, and augmenting their authority, both in church and state. It does not, indeed, appear from any authentic records, that their possessions augmented in proportion to the progress of their authority; nor that any new grants of land were added to what they had already obtained from the liberality of the kings of France. The donations, which Lewis the Meek is reported to have made to them, are mere inventions, equally destitute of truth and probability [*u*]; and nothing is more groundless than the accounts of those writers who affirm that Charles the Bald divested himself, in the year 875, of his right to the city of Rome, and its territory, in favour of the pontiffs, whom he, at the same time, enriched with a variety of noble and costly presents, in return for the good services of John VIII. by whose succours he was raised to the empire. But be that as it may, it is certain, that the authority and affluence of the bishops of Rome increased greatly from the time of Lewis the Meek, but more especially from the accession of Charles the Bald to the imperial throne, as all the historical records of that period abundantly testify [*w*].

Their zealous attachment to the kings of France, by whom they are favoured.

They gain by the troubles that arise in the empire.

VI. After the death of Lewis II. a fierce and dreadful war broke out between the posterity of

in this intricate controversy, concerning which so many false decisions have been pronounced, I shall only take the liberty to observe, that the matter in debate is as yet dubious, and has not, on either side, been represented in such a light as to bring conviction.

[*u*] See above, sect. 3.

[*w*] Bunau, Histor. Imperii Rom. German. tom. iii. p. 482. Jo. George Eccard, Histor. Francias Orient. tom. ii. lib. xxxi. p. 606.

Charlemagne, among which there were several competitors for the empire. This furnished the Italian princes, and the Roman pontiff John VIII. with a favourable opportunity of assuming to themselves the right of nominating to the imperial throne, and of excluding from all part in this election the nations who had formerly the right of suffrage; and if the opportunity was favourable, it was seized with avidity, and improved with the utmost dexterity and zeal. Their favour and interest was earnestly solicited by Charles the Bald, whose entreaties were rendered effectual by rich presents, prodigious sums of money, and most pompous promises, in consequence of which he was proclaimed, A. D. 876, by the pontiff John VIII. and by the Italian princes assembled at Pavia, king of Italy, and emperor of the Romans. Carloman and Charles the Gross, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Italy, and in the Roman empire, were also elected by the Roman pontiff, and the Italian princes. After the reigns of these princes the empire was torn in pieces; the most deplorable tumults and commotions arose in Italy, France, and Germany, which were governed, or rather subdued and usurped, by various chiefs, and in this confused scene of things, the highest bidder was, by the succour of the greedy pontiffs, generally raised to the government of Italy, and to the imperial throne [x].

The emperors divested of their ecclesiastical authority, and the power of the councils and of the bishops diminished.

VII. Thus the power and influence of the pontiffs, in civil affairs, arose in a short time to an enormous height through the favour and protection of the princes, in whose cause they had employed the influence which superstition had given them over the minds of the people. The increase of their authority, in religious matters, was not

[x] This matter is amply illustrated by Sigonius, in his famous book De Regno Italiæ, and by the other writers of German and Italian history.

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less rapid nor less considerable, and it arose from the same causes. The wisest and most impartial among the Roman catholic writers not only acknowledge, but are even at pains to demonstrate, that, from the time of Lewis the Meek, the ancient rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually changed in Europe by the counsels and instigation of the court of Rome, and new laws substituted in their place. The European princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in religious matters, which they had derived from Charlemagne; the power of the bishops was greatly diminished, and even the authority of both provincial and general councils began to decline. The Roman pontiffs, elated with their overgrown prosperity, and become arrogant, beyond measure, by the daily accessions that were made to their authority, were eagerly bent upon persuading all, and had, indeed, the good fortune to persuade many, that the bishop of Rome was constituted and appointed, by Jesus Christ, supreme legislator and judge of the church universal; and that, therefore, the bishops derived all their authority from the Roman pontiff, nor could the councils determine any thing without his permission and consent [y]. This opinion, which was inculcated by the pontiffs with the utmost zeal and ardour, was opposed by such as were acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitutions, and the government of the church in the earlier ages; but it was opposed in vain.

[y] See the excellent work of an anonymous and unknown author, who signs himself D. B. and whose book is entitled, Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique Public François, published first at London, in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1737, and lately republished in a larger and more splendid edition. The author of this performance shows, in a judicious and concise manner, the various steps by which the papal authority arose to such a monstrous height. His account of the ninth century may be seen in the first volume of his work, at the 160th page.

Forged memorials and acts procured by the pontiffs to establish their supremacy.

VIII. In order to gain credit to this new ecclesiastical code, so different from the ancient rules of church government, and to support the haughty pretensions of the pontiffs to supremacy and independence, it was necessary to produce the authority of ancient deeds, to stop the mouths of such as were disposed to set bounds to their usurpations. The bishops of Rome were aware of this; and as those means were looked upon as the most lawful that tended best to the accomplishment of their purposes, they employed some of their most ingenious and zealous partisans in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and such like records, by which it might appear, that, in the first ages of the church, the Roman pontiffs were clothed with the same spiritual majesty and supreme authority which they now assumed [z]. Among these fictitious supports of the papal dignity, the famous Decretal Epistles, as they are called, said to have been written by the pontiffs of the primitive times, deserve chiefly to be stigmatised. They were the production of an obscure writer, who fraudulently prefixed to them

[z] There is just reason to imagine, that these Decretals, and various other acts, such as the grants of Charlemagne and Lewis the Meek, were forged with the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontiffs; since it is utterly incredible, that these pontiffs should, for many ages, have constantly appealed, in support of their pretended rights and privileges, to acts and records that were only the fictions of private persons, and should, with such weak arms, have stood out against kings, princes, councils, and bishops who were unwilling to receive their yoke. Acts of a private nature would have been useless here, and public deeds were necessary to accomplish the views of papal ambition. Such forgeries were in this century esteemed lawful, on account of their supposed tendency to promote the glory of God, and to advance the prosperity of the church: and therefore, it is not surprising, that the *good* pontiffs should feel no remorse in imposing upon the world frauds and forgeries, that were designed to enrich the patrimony of St. Peter, and to aggrandize his successors in the apostolic see.

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the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville [a], to make the world believe they had been collected by that illustrious and learned prelate. Some of them had appeared in the eighth century [b], but they were now entirely drawn from their obscurity, and produced, with an air of ostentation and triumph, to demonstrate the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs [c]. The decisions of a certain Roman council, which is said to have been held during the pontificate of Sylvester, were likewise alleged in behalf of the same cause; but this council had never been so much as heard of before the present century, and the accounts now given of it proceeded from the same source with the decretals, and were equally authentic. Be that as it may, the decrees of this pretended council contributed much to enrich and aggrandize the

[a] It is certain that the forger of the decretals was extremely desirous of persuading the world that they were collected by Isidore, the celebrated bishop of Seville, who lived in the sixth century. See Fabricii Biblioth. Latin. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 561. It was a custom among the bishops to add, from a principle of humility, the epithet Peccator, *i. e.* sinner, to their titles; and, accordingly, the forger of the Decretals has added the word Peccator after the name of Isidore: but this, some ignorant transcribers have absurdly changed into the word Mercator; and hence it happens that one Isidorus Mercator passes for the fraudulent collector, or forger of the decretals.

[b] See Don Calmet, Histoire de Lorraine, tom. i. p. 528. B. Just. Hen. Bohmer. Præf. ad novum Edit. Juris Canon. tom. i. p. x. xix. Not.

[c] Beside the authors of the Centuriæ Magdeburgenses, and other writers, the learned Blondel has demonstrated, in an ample and satisfactory manner, the spuriousness of the decretals, in his Pseudo-Isidorus et Turianus vapulantes; and in our time the cheat is acknowledged even by the Roman Catholics, at least by such of them as are possessed of any tolerable degree of judgment and impartiality. See Buddeus, Isagoge in Theologiam, tom. ii. p. 762; as also Petr. Constantius, Prolegom. ad Epistolas Pontificum, tom. i. p. 130; and a Dissertation of Fleury, prefixed to the sixteenth volume of his Ecclesiastical History.

Roman pontiffs, and exalt them above all human authority and jurisdiction [*d*].

IX. There were not, however, wanting among the Latin bishops, men of prudence and sagacity, who saw through these impious frauds, and perceived the chains that were forging both for them and for the church. The French bishops distinguished themselves, in a particular and glorious manner, by the zeal and vehemence with which they opposed the spurious decretals, and other like fictitious monuments and records, and protested against their being received among the laws of the church. But the obstinacy of the pontiffs, and particularly of Nicholas I., conquered this opposition, and reduced it to silence. And as the empire, in the periods that succeeded this contest, fell back into the grossest ignorance and darkness, there scarcely remained any who were capable of detecting these odious impostures, or disposed to support the expiring liberty of the church. The history of the following ages shows, in a multitude of deplorable examples, the disorders and calamities that sprung from the ambition of the aspiring pontiffs; it represents these despotic lords of the church labouring, by the aid of their impious frauds, to overturn its ancient government, to undermine the authority of its bishops, to engross its riches and revenues into their own hands; nay, what is still more horrible, it represents them aiming perfidious blows at the thrones of princes, and endeavouring to lessen their power, and to set bounds to their dominion. All this is unanimously acknowledged by such as have looked with attention and impartiality, into the history of the times of which we now write, and is ingenu-

The success of these frauds.

[*d*] See Jo. Launoius, De Cura Ecclesiæ erga Pauperes et Miseros, cap. i. Observat. i. p. 576. tom. ii. par. II. opp.

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ously confessed by men of learning and probity, that are well affected to the Romish church and its sovereign pontiff [e].

The monastic life in high repute.

X. The monastic life was now universally in the highest esteem, and nothing could equal the veneration that was paid to such as devoted themselves to the sacred gloom and indolence of a convent. The Greeks and Orientals had been long accustomed to regard the monkish orders and discipline with the greatest admiration; but it was only since the beginning of the last century, that this holy passion was indulged among the Latins to such an extravagant length. In the present age it went beyond all bounds: kings, dukes, and counts, forgot their true dignity, even the fulfilling with zeal the duties of their high stations, and affected that contempt of the world and its grandeur, which they took for magnanimity, though it was really nothing else but the result of a narrow and superstitious spirit. They abandoned their thrones, their honours, and their treasures, and shut themselves up in monasteries, with a view of devoting themselves entirely to God. Several examples of this fanatical extravagance were exhibited in Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, both in this and the preceding century. And if the allurements of worldly pleasures and honours had too much power over the minds of many, to permit their separating themselves from human society, during their lives, such endeavoured to make amends for this in their last hours; for when they perceived death approaching, they demanded the monastic habit, and actually put it on before their departure, that they

[e] See the above-mentioned author's treatise, entitled Regia Potestas in Causis Matrimonial. tom. i. par. II. opp. p. 764; as also Petr. Constantius, Præf. ad Epist. Romanor. Pontiff. tom. i. p. 127.

might be regarded as of the fraternity, and be of consequence entitled to the fervent prayers and other spiritual succours of their ghostly brethren.

Monks and abbots employed in civil affairs, and called to the courts of princes.

But nothing affords such a striking and remarkable proof of the excessive and fanatical veneration that was paid to the monastic order, as the treatment they received from several kings and emperors, who drew numbers of monks and abbots from their cloisters, and placed them in stations entirely foreign to their vows and their character, even amidst the splendour of a court, and at the head of affairs. The transition, indeed, was violent, from the obscurity of a convent and the study of a liturgy, to sit at the helm of an empire, and manage the political interests of nations. But such was the case; and pious princes alleged, as a reason for this singular choice, that the government of a state could never be better placed than in the hands of such holy men, who had subdued all irregular appetites and passions, and were so divested of the lust of pleasure and ambition, as to be incapable of any unworthy designs; any low, sordid, or selfish views. Hence we find in the history of these times frequent examples of monks and abbots performing the functions of ambassadors, envoys, and ministers of state, and displaying their talents with various success in these high and eminent stations.

A reformation of the monastic order attempted.

XI. The morals, however, of the monks, were far from being so pure as to justify the reason alleged above for their promotion. Their patrons and protectors, who loaded them with honours and preferment, were sensible of the irregular and licentious lives that many of them led, and used their utmost efforts to correct their vices, and to reform their manners. Lewis the Meek distinguished his zeal in the execution of this virtuous and noble design; and, to render it more effectual, he employed the pious labours of Benedict,

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abbot of Aniane, in reforming the monasteries, first in Aquitaine, and afterwards throughout the whole kingdom of France; and in restoring, by new and salutary laws, the monastic discipline, which was absolutely neglected and fallen into decay. This worthy ecclesiastic presided, in the year 817, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, where several wise measures were taken for removing the disorders that reigned in the cloisters; and in consequence of the unlimited authority he had received from the emperor, he subjected all the monks, without exception, to the rule of the famous Benedict, abbot of Mount Cassim, annulled that variety of rites and customs that had obtained in the different monasteries, prescribed to them all one uniform method of living, and thus united, as it were, into one general body or society, the various orders which had hitherto been connected by no common bond [*f*]. This admirable discipline, which acquired to Benedict of Aniane the highest reputation, and made him be revered as the second father of the western monks, flourished during a certain time, but afterwards declined through various causes, until the conclusion of this century, when, under the calamities that oppressed both the church and the empire, it almost entirely disappeared.

Canons and canonesses.

XII. The same emperor, who had appeared with such zeal both in protecting and reforming the monks, gave also distinguished marks of his favour to the order of canons, which Chrodegangus had introduced in several places during

[*f*] Jo. Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. iv. par. I. Præf. p. xxvii. and Præf. ad Sæc. v. p. xxv. Ejusdem, Annales Ordin. S. Benedict. tom. ii. p. 430. Calmet. Hist. de Lorraine, tom. i. p. 596. For a particular account of Benedict of Aniane, and his illustrious virtues, see the Acta Sanctor. tom. ii. Febr. p. 606: and the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 447.

the last century. He distributed them through all the provinces of the empire, and instituted also an order of canonesses, which was the first female convent known in the Christian world [*g*]. For each of these orders the zealous emperor had a rule drawn up, A. D. 817, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he substituted in the place of that which had been appointed by Chrodegangus; and this new rule was observed in most of the monasteries and convents of the canons and canonesses in the west until the twelfth century, notwithstanding that it was disapproved of by the court of Rome [*h*]. The author of the rule that was appointed for the canons was, undoubtedly, Amalarius, a presbyter of Metz; but it is not so certain whether that which was drawn up for the canonesses was composed by the same hand [*i*]. Be that as it may, the canonical order grew into

[*g*] See Mabillon, Annal. Ordin. S. Benedicti, tom. ii. p. 428.

[*h*] This rule was condemned in a council held at Rome, A. D. 1059, under the pontiff Nicholas II. The pretexts used by the pontiff and the assembled prelates to justify their disapprobation of this rule, were, that it permitted the canons to enjoy the possessions they had before their vows, and allowed to each of them too large a portion of bread and wine; but the true reason was, that this order had been instituted by an emperor without either the consent or knowledge of the Roman pontiff. For an account of the rule and discipline of these canons, see Fleury's Eccles. Hist. tom. x. p. 163, 164, &c. Brussels edition in 12mo.

[*i*] Lud. Thomassin, Disciplin. Eccles. Vet. et Novæ, par. I. lib. iii. cap. xlii, xliii. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 186. 540. No accounts of the canons are less worthy of credit than those that are given by writers who have been themselves members of that order, such as Raymond Chapponel's Histoire des Chanoines, published at Paris in 8vo, in the year 1699; for these writers, from fond prejudices in favour of their institution, and an ambitious desire of enhancing its merit, and rendering it respectable, derive the origin of canonical order from Christ and his apostles, or trace it up, at least, to the first ages of the Christian church.

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high repute; and from this time a great number of convents were erected for them through all the western provinces, and were richly endowed by the liberality of pious and opulent Christians. But this institution degenerated in a short time, like all others, from its primitive purity, and ceased to answer the laudable intention and design of its worthy founders [*k*].

The principal Greek writers.

XIII. Of the theological writers that flourished among the Greeks, the following are the most remarkable:

Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of most profound and universal erudition, whose Bibliotheca [*l*] Epistles, and other writings, are yet valuable on many accounts.

Nicephorus, also a patriarch of the above-mentioned city, who, among other productions, published a warm defence of the worship of images against the enemies of that idolatrous service [*m*].

Theodores Studites, who acquired a name chiefly by his warm opposition to the Iconoclasts, and by the zeal with which he wrote in favour of image worship [*n*].

The same cause has principally contributed to transmit to after-ages the names of Theodorus Graptus, Methodius, who obtained the title of Confessor for his adherence to image-worship in

[*k*] Calmet, Hist. de Lorraine, tom. i. p. 591. Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 536.

[*l*] See Camusat, Histoire des Journaux, tom. i. p. 87.

[*m*] Acta Sanctor. tom. ii. Martii ad d. xiii. p. 293. Oudinus, Scriptor. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 2.

☞ [*n*] Theodore Studites was one of the most voluminous writers of this century, and would certainly have been known as a man of genius and learning to after-ages, though the controversy concerning images had never existed. There are of his writings, yet extant, 265 letters, several treatises against the Iconoclasts, 124 epigrams in Iambics, and a large manuscript, which contains a course of catechetical instruction concerning the duties of the monastic life.

the very face of persecution, Theodorus Abucara [o], Petrus Siculus, Nicetas, David, and others, who would probably have been long since buried in oblivion, had not the various contests between the Greek and Latin churches, and the divisions of the former among themselves upon the question concerning images, excited the vehemence of these inconsiderable writers, and furnished them with an occasion of making some noise in the world.

Moses Barcepha, a Syrian bishop, surpassed by far all whom we have now been mentioning, and deserved the shining reputation which he has obtained in the republic of letters, as what we have yet extant of his works discover several marks of true genius, and an uncommon acquaintance with the art of writing [p].

Latin writers.

XIV. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, is deservedly placed at the head of the Latin writers of this age; the force of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the multitude of productions that flowed from his pen, entitle him to this distinguished rank, and render improper all comparison between him and his contemporaries. He may be called the great light of Germany and France, since it was from the prodigious fund of knowledge he possessed, that these nations derived principally their religious instruction. His writings were every where in the hands of the learned [q], and were held in such veneration, that, during four centuries, the most eminent of the Latin divines appealed to them as authority in

[o] See Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. at the article Abugara.

[p] Jos. Sim. Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 127.

[q] See, for a particular account of the life and writings of Rabanus Maurus, the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. v. p. 151; as also the Acta Sanctor. tom. i. Febr. p. 500.

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religious matters, and adopted almost universally the sentiments they contained. After this illustrious prelate, the writers that are most worthy of mention are:

Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, a man of wisdom and prudence, and far from being destitute of literary merit; but whose reputation has deservedly suffered by his justifying, and even fomenting, the rebellion of Lothaire and Pepin against Lewis the Meek, their father and their sovereign [r].

Hilduin, abbot of St. Dennis, who acquired no small reputation by a work, entitled Areopagitica [s].

Eginhard, abbot of Selingestat, the celebrated author of the Life of Charlemagne, remarkable for the beauty of his diction, the perspicuity and elegance of his style, and a variety of other literary accomplishments [t].

Claudius, bishop of Turin, whose Exposition of several Books of Scripture [u], as also his Chronology, gained him an eminent and lasting reputation [w].

[r] See Colonia, Hist. Litter. de la Ville de Lyon, tom. ii. p. 93. General Dictionary, at the article Agobard. Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 567. [Agobard opposed with great zeal both the worship and the use of images, in his famous book, De Picturis et Imaginibus, a work which has greatly embarrassed the doctors of the Romish church.]

[s] Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 607.

[t] Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 550. See also the Life of Charlemagne, of which the best of fourteen editions is that published by Schminkius, at Utrecht, in the year 1711.

[u] [This prelate, who was famous for his knowledge of the holy scriptures, composed three books of commentaries upon Genesis, four upon Exodus, and several upon Leviticus. He wrote also a commentary upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, in which there are many excellent things, and an exposition of all the Epistles of St. Paul. His commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians is printed, but all the rest are in manuscript.]

[w] See Simon, Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 284.

Freculf, bishop of Lysieux, whose Chronicle, which is no more than a heavy compilation, is yet extant.

Servatus Lupus, of whose composition we have several epistles and treatises; and who, though a copious and subtile writer, is yet defective in point of elegance and erudition [*x*].

Drepanius Florus, who left behind him several Poems, An Exposition of certain Books of Scripture, and other performances less worthy of attention [*y*].

Christian Druthmar, the author of A Commentary upon St. Matthew's Gospel [*z*].

Godeschalc, a monk of Orbais, who rendered his name immortal by the controversy which he set on foot concerning Predestination and Free Grace.

Paschasius Radbert [*a*], a name famous in the contest concerning The real Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist; and who, to pass in silence his other writings, composed a book upon this very subject, which furnished abundant matter of dispute throughout this century.

Bertramn, or Retramn, a monk of Corby, who deserves the first rank among the writers that refuted the doctrine of Radbert; and whose book concerning The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which was composed by the order of Charles the Bald, gave also occasion to many contests among learned divines [*b*].

Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, the laborious author of several treatises upon various subjects,

[*x*] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. v. p. 255.

[*y*] Colonia, Histoire Litter. de Lyon, tom. ii. p. 135. Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. v. p. 213.

[*z*] Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. v. p. 84.

[*a*] For an account of Radbert, see the Histoire Litter. de la France, tom. v. p. 287.

[*b*] We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of Bertramn, and his book, in the following chapter.

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and who is more to be esteemed for his industry and diligence than for his genius and learning [*c*].

Walafridus Strabo, who acquired no mean reputation by his Poems, his Lives of the Saints, and his Explications of many of the more difficult passages of Scripture [*d*].

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man of an imperious and turbulent spirit; but who deserves, notwithstanding, a distinguished place among the Latin writers of this century, since his works discover an aspiring genius, and an ardent zeal in the pursuit of truth; and tend, moreover, in a singular manner, to throw light, both upon the civil and ecclesiastical history of the age in which he lived [*e*].

Johannes Scotus Erigena, the friend and companion of Charles the Bald, an eminent philosopher, and a learned divine, whose erudition was accompanied with uncommon marks of sagacity and genius, and whose various performances, as well as his translations from the Greek, gained him a shining and lasting reputation [*f*].

It is sufficient barely to name Remigius Bertharius, Ado, Aimoin Heric, Regino, abbot of Prum, and others, of whom the most common writers of ecclesiastical history give ample accounts.

[*c*] It is proper to observe, that a great part of the writings that are attributed to Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, were composed by Remi, or Remigius, of Auxerre. See Cassimir Oudinus, Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 330. Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. v. p. 111. tom. vi. p. 106. Le Beuf, Recueil de Diss. sur l'Histoire de la France, tom. i. p. 278.

[*d*] See the Histoire Litter. de la France, tom. v. p. 544.

[*e*] Ibid. tom. v. p. 416.

[*f*] See Herm. Conringius, Antiq. Academicæ, p. 309. Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. v. p. 416.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church during this Century.

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I. THE zeal of Charlemagne for the interests of Christianity, and his liberality to the learned, encouraged many to apply themselves diligently to the study of the scriptures, and to the pursuit of religious truth; and as long as this eminent set of divines remained, the western provinces were happily preserved from many errors, and from a variety of superstitious practices. Thus we find among the writers of this age several men of eminent talents, whose productions show that the lustre of true erudition and theology was not, as yet, totally eclipsed. But these illustrious luminaries of the church disappeared one after the other, and barbarism and ignorance, encouraged by their departure, resumed their ancient seats, and brought, in their train, a prodigious multitude of devout follies, odious superstitions, and abominable errors. Nor did any encourage and propagate with more zeal and ardour these superstitious innovations, than the sacerdotal orders, the spiritual guides of a deluded people. And if we inquire how it came to pass that the clergy were so zealous in such an inglorious cause, we shall find that this zeal was, in some, the effect of ignorance, and, in others, the fruit of avarice and ambition; since much was to be gained, both in point of authority and opulence, from the progress of superstition. Christianity among the Greeks and Orientals was almost in the same declining and deplorable state; though there arose, from time to time, in the eastern provinces, men of

The miserable state of Christianity.

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superior abilities, who endeavoured to support the cause of true religion, and to raise it from the pressures under which it laboured.

The causes to which it was owing.

II. The causes of this unhappy revolution, that covered the Christian church with superstition and darkness, will appear evident to such as are at all acquainted with the history of these times. The Oriental doctors, miserably divided among themselves, and involved in the bitterest contentions and quarrels with the western churches, lost all notion of the true spirit and genius of Christianity, and, corrupted and biassed by the prejudices and passions that are generally excited and nourished by ill-managed controversy, became incapable of promoting the true and essential interests of religion. Intent also upon defending the excellence and divine authority of their doctrine and discipline against the Latin doctors, and in maintaining among themselves the worship of images, which began to be warmly opposed, they advanced many things in the course of these disputes that were highly erroneous; and as one error follows another, their number increased from day to day. The savage and unnatural lives of the monks and hermits, whose number was prodigious, and whose authority was considerable, who haunted the woods and deserts, the gloomy scenes of their extravagant devotion, contributed much, among other causes, to the decay of solid and rational piety. Add to all this, the irruptions of the barbarous nations into the west, the atrocious exploits of usurping princes, the drooping and neglected condition of all the various branches of learning, the ambitious frenzy of the Roman pontiffs, who were incessantly gaping after new accessions of authority and dominion, the frauds and tricks of the monastic orders carried on under the specious mask of religion, and then we shall

see the true causes that founded the empire of superstition and error, upon the ruins of virtue, piety, and reason.

The corrupt ignorance and superstition that reigned in this century, appear even in the single instance of the foolish veneration that was paid to the saints and their relics.

III. The ignorance and corruption that dishonoured the Christian church, in this century, were great beyond measure; and were there no other examples of their enormity upon record than the single instance of that stupid veneration that was paid to the bones and carcasses of departed saints, this would be sufficient to convince us of the deplorable progress of superstition. This idolatrous devotion was now considered as the most sacred and momentous branch of religion, nor did any dare to entertain the smallest hopes of finding the Deity propitious, before they had assured themselves of the protection and intercession of some one or other of the saintly order. Hence it was, that every church, and indeed every private Christian, had their particular patron among the saints, from an apprehension that their spiritual interests would be but indifferently managed by those who were already employed about the souls of others; for they judged, in this respect, of the saints as they did of mortals, whose capacity is too limited to comprehend a vast variety of objects. This notion rendered it necessary to multiply prodigiously the number of the saints, and to create daily new patrons for the deluded people: and this was done with the utmost zeal. The priests and monks set their invention at work, and peopled, at discretion, the invisible world with imaginary protectors. They dispelled the thick darkness which covered the pretended spiritual exploits of many holy men; and they invented both names and histories of saints [*g*] that never existed, that they might not be at a loss to

[*g*] [See Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, passim, in which we find the names of St. Baccho, St. Viar, St. Amphibolus, Euodia, &c.]

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furnish the credulous and wretched multitude with objects proper to perpetuate their superstition, and to nourish their confidence. Many chose their own guides, and committed their spiritual interests either to phantoms of their own creation, or to distracted fanatics, whom they esteemed as saints, for no other reason than their having lived like madmen.

The saints canonized.

IV. The ecclesiastical councils found it necessary, at length, to set limits to the licentious superstition of those ignorant wretches, who, with a view to have still more friends at court, for such were their gross notions of things, were daily adding new saints to the list of their celestial mediators. They accordingly, declared by a solemn decree, that no departed Christian should be considered as a member of the saintly order, before the bishop in a provincial council, and in presence of the people, had pronounced him worthy of that distinguished honour [*h*]. This remedy, feeble and illusory as it was, contributed, in some measure, to restrain the fanatical temerity of the saint-makers; but, in its consequences, it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the Roman pontiff. Even so early as this century many were of opinion, that it was proper and expedient, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be confirmed by the consent and authority of the Roman pontiff, whom they considered as the supreme and universal bishop; and this will not appear surprising to any who reflect upon the enormous strides which the bishops of Rome made towards unbounded dominion in this barbarous

[*h*] Mabillon, Act. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti, Sæc. v. Præf. p. 44. Launoy, De Lazari, Magdalenæ, et Marthæ in Provinciam appulsu, cap. i. sect. 12. p. 342. tom. ii. par. I. opp. Franc. Pagi Breviarium Pontif. Romanor. tom. ii. p. 259. tom. iii. p. 30.

and superstitious age, whose corruption and darkness were peculiarly favourable to their ambitious pretensions. It is true, we have no example of any person solemnly sainted by the bishop of Rome alone, before the tenth century [*i*], when Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, received this dignity in a formal manner from John XV. It is, however, certain, that before that time the Roman pontiffs were consulted in matters of that nature, and their judgment respected in the choice of those that were to be honoured with saintship [*k*]; and it was by such steps as these, that the church of Rome engrossed to itself the creation of these tutelary divinities, which at length was distinguished by the title of Canonization.

Lives of the saints.

V. This preposterous multiplication of Saints was a new source of abuses and frauds. It was thought necessary to write the lives of these celestial patrons, in order to procure for them the veneration and confidence of a deluded multitude; and here lying wonders were invented, and all the resources of forgery and fable exhausted, to celebrate exploits which had never been performed, and to perpetuate the memory of holy persons who had never existed. We have yet extant a prodigious quantity of these trifling legends, the greatest part of which were, undoubtedly, forged after the time of Charlemagne, by the monastic writers, who had both

[*i*] See Dan. Papebrochius, De Solennium Canonisationum Initiis et Progress. in Propylæo Actor. SS. mens. Maii, p. 171; and the other authors who have written upon this subject, of which there is an ample list in the Bibliographia Antiquar. of Fabricius, cap. vii. sect. 25. p. 270.

[*k*] See the candid and impartial account that is given of this matter by the late pope Benedict XIV. in his laborious work, De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione, lib. i. cap. 7. p. 50. tom. i. opp. edit. Roman. It were to be wished, that historians of the church of Rome would learn to imitate the prudence, moderation, and equity of that illustrious pontiff.

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the inclination and leisure to edify the church by these pious frauds. The same impostors, who peopled the celestial regions with fictitious saints, employed also their fruitful inventions in embellishing with false miracles, and various other impertinent forgeries, the history of those, who had been really martyrs or confessors in the cause of Christ; these fictions, however, did not pass with impunity, but were severely censured by some of the most eminent writers of the times in which they were imposed upon the credulity of the public [*l*]. Various were the motives that engaged different persons to propagate, or countenance, these impostors. Some were excited to this by the seductions of a false devotion, which reigned in this perverse and ignorant age, and made them imagine, that departed saints were highly delighted with the applauses and veneration of mortals, and never failed to crown with peculiar marks of their favour and protection such as were zealous in honouring their memories, and in celebrating their exploits. The prospect of gain, and the ambitious desire of being reverenced by the multitude, engaged others to multiply the number, and to maintain the credit of the legends, or saintly registers. For the churches that were dedicated to the saints were perpetually crowded with supplicants, who flocked to them with rich presents, in order to obtain succour

[*l*] See Servatus Lupus. Vita Maximini, p. 275, 276. and the candid and learned observations upon this subject that are to be found in various places of the works of the celebrated Launoy; *e. g.* in his Dispunctio Epistolæ Petri de Marca, de tempore quo in Gallia Christi fides recepta, cap. xiv. p. 110. in his Dissertationes de Primis Christianæ Relig. in Gallia Initiis, Diss. ii. p. 142, 144, 145, 147, 168, 169, 181.—De Lazari, Magdal. et Marthæ in Galliam Appulsu. p. 340.—De Duobus Dionysiis, p. 527, 529, 530. tom. ii. part I. opp.—See also Martene, Thesaurus Anecdotor. tom. i. p. 151.—Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. iv. p. 273.

under the afflictions they suffered, or deliverance from the dangers which they had reason to apprehend. And it was esteemed also a high honour to be the more immediate ministers of these tutelary mediators, who, as it is likewise proper to observe, were esteemed and frequented in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and importance of the pretended miracles that had rendered their lives illustrious. This latter circumstance offered a strong temptation to such as were employed by the various churches in writing the lives of their tutelar saints, to supply by invention the defects of truth, and to embellish their legends with fictitious prodigies; nay, they were not only tempted to this imposture, but were even obliged to make use of it in order to swell the fame of their respective patrons [*m*].

A passionate fondness for their relics prevails.

VI. But even all this was insufficient to satisfy the demands of superstition, nourished by the stratagems of a corrupt and designing priesthood, and fomented by the zeal of the more ignorant and stupid sons of the church. It was not enough to reverence departed saints, and to confide in their intercession and succours; it was not enough to clothe them with an imaginary power of healing diseases, working miracles, and delivering from all sorts of calamities and dangers; their bones, their clothes, the apparel and furniture they had possessed during their lives, the very ground which they had touched, or in which their putrified carcases were laid, were treated with a stupid veneration, and supposed to retain the marvellous virtue of healing all disorders both of body and mind, and of defending such as possessed them against all the assaults and devices of Satan. The

[*m*] Of all the lives of the saints written in this century, none are more liable to suspicion than those drawn up by the Britons and Normans. See Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. i. Benedictin. sub init.

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consequence of this wretched notion was, that every one was eager to provide himself with these salutary remedies, for which purpose great numbers undertook fatiguing and perilous voyages, and subjected themselves to all sorts of hardships; while others made use of this delusion to accumulate their riches, and to impose upon the miserable multitude by the most impious and shocking inventions. As the demand for relics was prodigious and universal, the clergy employed all their dexterity to satisfy these demands, and were far from being nice in the methods they used for that end. The bodies of the saints were sought by fasting and prayer instituted by the priest in order to obtain a divine answer, and an infallible direction, and this pretended direction never failed to accomplish their desires; the holy carcass was always found, and that always in consequence, as they impiously gave out, of the suggestion and inspiration of God himself. Each discovery of this kind was attended with excessive demonstrations of joy, and animated the zeal of these devout seekers to enrich the church still more and more with this new kind of treasure. Many travelled with this view into the eastern provinces, and frequented the places which Christ and his disciples had honoured with their presence, that with the bones and other sacred remains of the first heralds of the gospel, they might comfort dejected minds, calm trembling consciences, save sinking states, and defend their inhabitants from all sorts of calamities. Nor did these pious travellers return home empty; the craft, dexterity, and knavery of the Greeks found a rich prey in the stupid credulity of the Latin relic-hunters, and made a profitable commerce of this new devotion. The latter paid considerable sums for legs and arms, skulls and jaw-bones, (several of which were pagan, and some not human,) and

other things that were supposed to have belonged to the primitive worthies of the Christian church; and thus the Latin churches came to the possession of those celebrated relics of St. Mark, St. James, St. Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantaleon, and others, which they show at this day with so much ostentation. But there were many, who, unable to procure for themselves these spiritual treasures by voyages and prayers, had recourse to violence and theft; for all sorts of means, and all sorts of attempts in a cause of this nature were considered, when successful, as pious and acceptable to the Supreme Being [*n*].

The exposition of the scriptures neglected among the Greeks.

VII. The study of the holy scriptures languished much among the Greeks in this century. Photius, who composed a book of Questions [*o*], relating to various passages of scripture, An Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul, and other productions of the same nature [*p*], was one of the few that employed their talents in the illustration of the sacred writings. He was a man of great sagacity and genius, who preferred the dictates of reason to the decisions of authority; notwithstanding all which, he cannot be recommended as a model to

[*n*] See Muratorii Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 6. who gives examples of the truth of this assertion.

[*o*] This work, which is entitled Amphilochia, from its having been addressed to Amphilochius, bishop of Cyzicum, consists of 308 questions, and answers to them; a sixth part of which, at least, are to be found in the Epistles of Photius, published at London in 1651, by bishop Montague. The most of these questions relate to different texts of the Old and New Testament; but these are interspersed with others of a philosophical and literary kind. This work is still extant in MSS. in the Vatican, Barberinian, and Bavarian libraries.

[*p*] Such as a catena, or chain, of commentaries on the book of Psalms, compiled from the writings of Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, &c. and a commentary upon the Prophets, both of which are yet extant in MSS. the former in the Bibliotheca Segueriana, or Coisliniana, and the latter in the Vatican library.

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other commentators. The other Greek writers, who attempted to explain the holy scriptures, did little more than compile and accumulate various passages from the commentators of the preceding ages; and this method was the origin of those catenæ, or chains of commentaries, so much in vogue among the Greeks during this century, of which a considerable number have come down to our times, and which consisted entirely in a collection of the explications of scripture that were scattered up and down in the ancient writers. The greatest part of the theological writers, finding themselves incapable of more arduous undertakings, confined their labours to this compiling method, to the great detriment of sacred criticism.

Defects of the Latin commentators

VIII. The Latin commentators were vastly superior in number to those among the Greeks, which was owing to the zeal and munificence of Charlemagne, who, both by his liberality and by his example, had excited and encouraged the doctors of the preceding age to the study of the scriptures. Of these expositors there are two, at least, who are worthy of esteem, Christian Druthmar, whose Commentary on St. Matthew, is come down to our times [q]; and the abbot Bertharius, whose two books concerning Fundamentals, are also said to be yet extant. The rest seem unequal to the important office of sacred critics, and may be divided into two classes, which we have had already occasion to mention in the course of this history; the class of those, who merely collected and reduced into a mass the opinions and explications of the ancients, and that

[q] See R. Simon, Histoire Critique des Principaux Commentateurs du Nouv. Testament, chap. xxv. p. 348; as also his Critique de la Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 293. who, in his xxvith and xxviith chapter, gives an account of most of the writers mentioned here.

of a fantastic set of expositors, who were always hunting after mysteries in the plainest expressions, and labouring to deduce a variety of abstruse and hidden significations from every passage of scripture, all which they did, for the most part, in a very clumsy and uncouth manner. At the head of the first class was Rabanus Maurus, who acknowledges that he borrowed from the ancient doctors the materials he made use of in illustrating the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistles of St. Paul; Walafrid Strabo, who borrowed his explications chiefly from Rabanus; Claudius of Turin, who trod in the footsteps of Augustin and Origen; Hincmar, whose Exposition of the Four Books of Kings, compiled from the fathers, are yet extant; Remigius of Auxerre, who derived from the same source his illustrations on the Psalms, and other books of sacred writ; Sedulius, who explained in the same manner the Epistles of St. Paul; Florus, Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, and others, whom, for the sake of brevity, we pass in silence.

Allegories.

IX. Rabanus Maurus, whom we introduced above at the head of the compilers of the fathers, deserves also an eminent place among the allegorical commentators, on account of his diffuse and tedious work, entitled Scripture Allegories. To this class also belong Smaragdus, Haymo, Scotus, Paschasius Radbert, and many others, whom it is not necessary to mention. The fundamental and general principle, in which all the writers of this class agree, is, that, besides the literal signification of each passage in scripture, there are hidden and deep senses which escape the vulgar eye; but they are not agreed about the number of these mysterious significations. Some attribute to every phrase three senses; others four; others again five; nay, their number is carried to seven by Angelome, a monk of Lysieux, an acute,

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though fantastic writer, and who is far from deserving the meanest rank among the expositors of this century [r].

The state of didactic theology.

X. The teachers of theology were still more contemptible than the commentators, and the Greeks as well as the Latins were extremely negligent both in unfolding the nature, and proving the truth of the doctrines of Christianity. Their method of inculcating divine truth was dry and unsatisfactory, and more adapted to fill the memory with sentences, than to enlighten the understanding, or to improve the judgment. The Greeks, for the most part, followed implicitly Damascenus, while the Latins submitted their hoodwinked intellects to the authority of Augustin. Authority became the test of truth, and supplied in arrogance what it wanted in argument. That magisterial decisions were employed in the place of reason appears manifestly from the Collectaneum de tribus Quæstionibus of Servatus Lupus; and also from a Treatise of Remigius, concerning the Necessity of holding fast the Truths of the Gospel, and of maintaining inviolable the sacred Authority of the holy and orthodox Fathers. If any deigned to appeal to the authority of the scriptures in defence of their systems, they either explained them in an allegorical manner, or understood them in the sense that had been given to them by the decrees of councils, or in the writings of the fathers; from which senses they thought it both unlawful and impious to depart. The Irish doctors alone, and particularly Johannes Scotus, had the courage to spurn the ignomini-

[r] See the preface to his Commentary on the Book of Kings, in the Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima, tom. xv. p. 308. The commentary of Angelome upon the book of Genesis was published by Bernard Pezius, in his Thesaurus Anecdotorum, tom. i. part I.; but, indeed, the loss would not have been great had it never seen the light.

ous fetters of authority, and to explain the sublime doctrine of Christianity in a manner conformable to the dictates of reason, and the principles of true philosophy. But this noble attempt drew upon them the malignant fury of a superstitious age, and exposed them to the hatred of the Latin theologists, who would not permit either reason or philosophy to meddle themselves in religious matters [*s*].

Of Christian morality.

XI. The important science of morals suffered, like all others, in the hands of ignorant and unskilful writers. The labours of some were wholly employed in collecting from the fathers an indigested heap of maxims and sentences concerning religious and moral duties: and such, among others, was the work of Alvarus, intitled Scintillæ Patrum. Others wrote in a more systematic manner concerning virtue and vice, such as Halitgarius, Rabanus Maurus, and Jonas, bishop of Orleans; but the representations they gave of the one and the other were very different from those which we find in the gospel of Christ. Others again fell into that most absurd and delusive method of instructing the ignorant in the will of God by a fantastic combination of figures and allegories; and several of the Greeks began to turn their studies towards the resolving cases of conscience [*t*], in order to remove the difficulties that arose in scrupulous and timorous minds. We pass in silence the writers of homilies and books of penance, of which there was a considerable number in this century.

[*s*] For an account of the persecution and hatred that Johannes Scotus suffered in the cause of reason and liberty, see Du Boulay, Hist. Academ. Paris, tom. i. p. 182; as also Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. v. p. 392.

[*t*] See Nicephori Chartophylac. Epistolæ Duæ, in the Bibliotheca Magna Patrum, tom. iii. p. 413.

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The progress of mysticism.

XII. The doctrine of the mystics, whose origin is falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, and whose precepts were designed to elevate the soul above all sensible and terrestrial objects, and to unite it to the Deity in an ineffable manner, had been now for a long time in vogue among the Greeks, and more especially among the monastic orders. And to augment the credit of this fanatical sect, and multiply its followers, Michael Synchellus and Methodius composed the most pompous and eloquent panegyrics upon the memory of Dionysius, in which his virtues were celebrated with the utmost exaggeration. The Latins were not as yet bewitched with the specious appearance, and the illusory charms of the mystic devotion, which was equally adapted to affect persons of a lively fancy and those of a more gloomy turn of mind. They lived in a happy ignorance of this contagious doctrine, when the Grecian emperor, Michael Balbus, sent to Lewis the Meek, in the year 824, a copy of the pretended works [*u*] of Dionysius the Areopagite, which fatal present kindled immediately the holy flame of mysticism in the western provinces, and filled the Latins with the most enthusiastic admiration of this new religion. The translation of these spurious works into Latin by the express order of the emperor [*w*], who could not be easy

[*u*] Usserii Sylloge Epp. Hibernicar. p. 54, 55. ☞ The spuriousness of these works is now universally granted by the most learned and impartial of the Roman Catholic writers, as they contain accounts of many events that happened several ages after the time of Dionysius, and were not at all mentioned until after the fifth century. See Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livr. liv. tom. xi. p. 520. edit. Bruxelles.

[*w*] That these books were translated by the order of Lewis appears manifestly from the Epistle to that emperor, which Hilduin prefixed to his Areopagetica, and in which (p. 66. edit. Colon. 1563.) we find the following passage: "De notitia librorum, quos (Dionysius) patrio sermone conscripsit, et quibus

while his subjects were deprived of such an inestimable treasure, contributed much to the progress of mysticism. By the order of the same emperor, Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, composed an account of the life, actions, and writings of Dionysius, under the title of Areopagitica, in which work, among other impudent fictions, usual in those times of superstition and imposture, he maintained, in order to exalt the honour of his nation, that Dionysius the Areopagite, and Dionysius the bishop of Paris, were one and the same person [x]. This fable, which was invented with unparalleled assurance, was received with the most perfect and unthinking credulity, and made such a deep and permanent impression upon the minds of the French, that the repeated demonstrations of its falsehood have not as yet been sufficient to ruin its credit entirely. As the first translation of the works of Dionysius that had been done by the order of Lewis the Meek was probably in a barbarous and obscure style, a new and more elegant one was given by the famous Johannes Scotus Erigena, at the request of Charles the

potentibus illos composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, CUJUS DISPENSATIONE INTERPRETATOS, scrinia nostra eos petentibus reserat, satisfacit." From this passage, it is evident that they are mistaken, who affirm that the Latin translation of the works of Dionysius was not made before the time of Charles the Bald. And they err also, who, with Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. ii. lib. xxix. sect. 59. p. 488. and the authors of the Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. v. p. 425. inform us, that Michael Balbus sent these works already translated into Latin to the emperor Lewis. It is amazing how men of learning could fall into this latter error, after reading the following passage in the Epistle above quoted: "Authenticos namque eosdem (Dionysii) libros Græca lingua conscriptos, cum œconomus ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ et ceteri missi Michaelis legatione—functi sunt—pro munere magno suscepimus."

[x] Launoy, Diss. de Discrimine Dionysii Areopag. et Parisiensis, cap. iv. p. 38. tom. ii. p. I. opp. as also the other writings of this great man concerning the Two Dionysiuses.

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Bald, the publication of which increased considerably the partisans of the mystic theology among the French, Italians, and Germans. Scotus himself was so enchanted with this new doctrine, that he incorporated it into his philosophical system, and upon all occasions either accommodated his philosophy to it, or explained it according to the principles of his philosophy.

The state of polemic, or controversial theology.

XIII. The defence of Christianity against the Jews and pagans was greatly neglected in this century, in which the intestine disputes and dissensions that divided the church, gave sufficient employment to such as had an inclination to controversy, or a talent of managing it with dexterity and knowledge. Agobard, however, as also Amulo and Rabanus Maurus, chastised the insolence and malignity of the Jews, and exposed their various absurdities and errors, while the emperor Leo, Theodorus Abucara, and other writers, whose performances are lost, employed their polemic labours against the progress of the Saracens, and refuted their impious and extravagant system. But it may be observed in general of those who wrote against the Saracens, that they reported many things, both concerning Mahomet and his religion, which were far from being true; and if, as there is too much reason to imagine, they did this designedly, and knowing the falsehood, or at least the uncertainty of what they alleged against these infidels, we must look upon their writings rather as intended to deter the Christians from apostasy, than to give a rational refutation of the Saracen doctrine.

The controversy concerning images among the Greeks.

XIV. The contests of the Christians among themselves were carried on with greater eagerness and animosity than the disputes in which they were engaged with the common enemies of their faith: and these contests were daily productive of new calamities and disorders which dishonoured

their profession, and cast a heavy, though undeserved reproach upon the cause of true religion. After the banishment of Irene, the controversy concerning images broke out anew among the Greeks, and was carried on by the contending parties, during the half of this century, with various and uncertain success. The emperor Nicephorus, though he did not abrogate the decrees of the council of Nice, nor order the images to be taken out of the churches, yet deprived the patrons of image-worship of all power to molest or injure their adversaries, and seems upon the whole to have been an enemy to that idolatrous service. But his successor Michael Curopalates, surnamed Rhangebe, acted in a very different manner. Feeble and timorous, and dreading the rage of the priests and monks that maintained the cause of images, he favoured that cause during his short reign, and persecuted its adversaries with the greatest bitterness and cruelty. The scene changed again, upon the accession of Leo, the Armenian, to the empire, who abolished the decrees of the Nicene council relating to the use and worship of images, in a council assembled at Constantinople, A. D. 814 [*y*]; without however enacting any penal laws against their idolatrous worshippers. This moderation, far from satisfying the patriarch Nicephorus, and the other partisans of image-worship, only served to encourage their obstinacy, and to increase their insolence; upon which the emperor removed the haughty prelate from his office, and chastised the fury of several of his adherents with a deserved punishment. His successor Michael, surnamed Balbus, or the Stammerer, was obliged to observe the same conduct, and to depart from the clemency and indulgence, which, in the beginning of his reign,

☞ [*y*] Fleury and some other writers place the meeting of this council in the year 815.

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he had discovered towards the worshippers of images, whose idolatry, however, he was far from approving; the monks more especially provoked his indignation by their fanatical rage, and forced him to treat them with particular severity. But the zeal of his son and successor Theophilus, in discouraging this new idolatry, was still more vehement; for he opposed the worshippers of images with great violence, and went so far as to put to death some of the more obstinate ringleaders of that impetuous faction.

XV. Upon the death of Theophilus, which happened in the year 842, the regency was entrusted with the empress Theodora during her son's minority. This superstitious princess, fatigued with the importunate solicitations of the monks, deluded by their forged miracles, and not a little influenced also by their insolent threats, assembled, in the year above mentioned, a council at Constantinople, in which the decrees of the second Nicene council were reinstated in their lost authority, and the Greeks were indulged in their corrupt propensity to image-worship by a law which encouraged that wretched idolatry [z]. So that after a controversy, which had been carried on during the space of a hundred and ten years, the cause of idolatry triumphed over the dictates of reason and Christianity; the whole east, the Armenians excepted, bowed down before the victorious images; nor did any of the succeeding emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of this superstitious frenzy, or restrain them in the performance of this childish worship. The council that was held at Constantinople under Photius, in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks

[z] See Fred. Spanheim, Historia Imaginum, sect. viii. p. 845. tom. ii. opp.—Lenfant, Preservatif contre la Reunion avec le Siege de Rome, tom. iii. lett. xiv. p. 147. lett. xviii, xix. p. 509.

the eighth general council, gave a farther degree of force and vigour to idolatry, by maintaining the sanctity of images, and approving, confirming, and renewing the Nicene decrees. The superstitious Greeks, who were blind-led by the monks in the most ignominious manner, esteemed this council as a most signal blessing derived to them from the immediate interposition of heaven, and accordingly instituted in commemoration thereof an anniversary festival, which was called the Feast of Orthodoxy [*a*].

Among the Latins.

XVI. The triumph of images, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs in their favour, was obtained with much more difficulty among the Latins, than it had been among the Greeks; for the former maintained as yet that invaluable, and indeed inalienable privilege of judging for themselves in religious matters, and were far from being disposed to submit their reason implicitly to the decisions of the pontiff, or to look upon any thing as infallible and true, which had authority for its only foundation. The most of the European Christians, as we have seen already, steered a middle course between the idolaters and the Iconoclasts, between those who were zealous for the worship of images on the one hand, and those who were averse to all use of them on the other. They were of opinion, that images might be suffered as the means of aiding the memory of the faithful, and of calling to their remembrance the pious exploits and the virtuous actions of the persons they represented; but they detested all thoughts of paying them the least

[*a*] See Gretser, Observat. in Codinum de Officiis Aulæ et Eccles. Constantinopolitanæ, lib. iii. cap. viii. as also the Ceremoniale Byzantinum, lately published by Reisk, lib. i. c. xxviii. p. 92.

marks of religious homage or adoration. Michael Balbus, when he sent, in the year 824, a solemn embassy to Lewis the Meek, to renew and confirm the treaties of friendship and peace that had been concluded between his predecessors in the empire and Charlemagne, charged his ministers, in a particular manner, to bring over the king of the Franks [*b*] to the party of the Iconoclasts, that they might gradually suppress, by their united influence, the worship of images, and thus restore concord and tranquillity to the church. Lewis, upon this occasion, assembled a council at Paris, A. D. 824 [*c*], in order to examine the proposal of the Grecian emperor, in which it was resolved to adhere to the decrees of the council of Frankfort, which allowed the use of images in the churches, but severely prohibited the treating them with the smallest marks of religious worship. But in process of time the European Christians departed gradually from the observance of this injunction, and fell imperceptibly into a blind submission to the decisions of

☞ [*b*] So Michael and his son Theophilus style Lewis in their letter to him, refusing him the title of emperor, to which, however, he had an undoubted right in consequence of the treaties which they now desired to renew.

☞ [*c*] Fleury, Le Sueur, and other historians, place unanimously this council in the year 825. It may be proper to observe here, that the proceedings of this council evidently show, that the decisions of the Roman pontiff were by no means looked upon at this time either as obligatory or infallible. For when the letter of pope Adrian, in favour of images, was read in the council, it was almost unanimously rejected, as containing absurd and erroneous opinions. The decrees of the second council of Nice relating to image-worship, were also censured by the Gallican bishops; and the authority of that council, though received by several popes as an œcumenical one, absolutely rejected. And what is remarkable is, that the pope did not, on this account, declare the Gallican bishops heretics, nor exclude them from the communion of the apostolic see. See Fleury, liv. xlvii.

the Roman pontiff, whose influence and authority grew more formidable from day to day; so that towards the conclusion of this century, the Gallican clergy began to pay a certain kind of religious homage to the saintly images, in which their example was followed by the Germans and other nations [*d*].

Several Iconoclasts among the Latins.

XVII. Notwithstanding this apostasy, the Iconoclasts were not destitute of adherents among the Latins. The most eminent of these was Claudius, bishop of Turin, by birth a Spaniard, and also a disciple of Felix, bishop of Urgel. This zealous prelate, as soon as he had obtained the episcopal dignity through the favour of Lewis the Meek, began to exercise the duties of his function in the year 823, by ordering all images, and even the cross, to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended these vehement proceedings, and declared against the use, as well as the worship, of images, but also broached several other opinions, that were quite contrary to the notions of the multitude, and to the prejudices of the times. He denied, among other things, in opposition to the Greeks, that the cross was to be honoured with any kind of worship; he treated relics with the utmost contempt, as absolutely destitute of the virtues that were attributed to them, and censured with much freedom and severity those pilgrimages to the holy land, and those voyages to the tombs of the saints, which, in this century, were looked upon as extremely salutary, and particularly meritorious. This noble stand, in the defence of true religion, drew upon Claudius a

[*d*] Mabillon, Annal. Benedictin. tom. ii. p. 488.—Id. Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Actor. SS. Ord. Benedicti. Sæc. iv. part I. p. 7, 8.—Le Cointe, Annal. Eccles. Francor. tom. iv. ad h. a. 824.

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multitude of adversaries; the sons of superstition rushed upon him from all quarters; Theodemir Dungallus, Jonas of Orleans, and Walafridus Strabo [e] united to overwhelm him with their voluminous answers. But the learned and venerable prelate maintained his ground [f], and supported his cause with such dexterity and force, that it remained triumphant, and gained new credit. And hence it happened, that the city of Turin and the adjacent country were, for a long time after the death of Claudius, much less infected with superstition than the other parts of Europe.

Continuation of the controversy concerning the derivation or procession of the Holy Ghost.

XVIII. The controversy that had been carried on in the preceding century concerning the procession (if we may be allowed that term) of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, and also concerning the word filioque, foisted by the Latins into the creed of Constantinople, broke out now with redoubled vehemence, and from a private dispute became a flaming contest between the Greek and Latin churches. The monks of Jerusalem distinguished themselves in this controversy, and complained particularly of the interpolation of the word filioque, *i. e.* and from the son, in the abovementioned symbol; nor did they stop here, but despatched to Charlemagne, in the year 809, a certain ecclesiastic of their order, whose name was John, to obtain satisfaction in this matter [g]. The affair was debated in due

☞ [e] In order to do justice to the adversaries of Claudius here mentioned, it is necessary to observe, that they only maintained the innocence and usefulness of images, without pretending to represent them as objects of religious worship.

[f] Mabillon, Annal. Benedictin. tom. ii. p. 488.—Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Actor. SS. Ord. Benedict. p. 8.—Histoire Litter. de la France, tom. iv. p. 491. et tom. v. p. 27. 64.—Jaq. Basnage, Histoire des Eglises Reformées, tom. i. periode iv. p. 38, ed. in 4to.

[g] See Steph. Balusii Miscellanea, tom. vii. p. 14.

form, both in a council assembled this same year at Aix-la-Chapelle and at Rome, in presence of the sovereign pontiff Leo III. to whom the emperor had sent ambassadors for that purpose. Leo adopted the doctrine which represented the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father and the Son, but he condemned the addition that had been made to the symbol [*h*], and declared it as his opinion, that the word filioque, or from the son, as it was a glaring interpolation, ought to be omitted in reading the symbol, and at length struck out of it entirely, not every where at once, but in such a prudent manner, as to prevent disturbance. His successors were of the same opinion; the word, however, being once admitted, not only kept its place in opposition to the Roman pontiffs, but was by degrees added to the symbol in all the Latin churches [*i*].

The controversy concerning the eucharist, set on foot by Pascasius Radbert.

XIX. To these disputes of ancient origin were added controversies entirely new, and particularly that famous one concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist. It had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the church, that the body and blood of Christ were administered to those who received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that they were consequently present at that holy institution; but the sentiments of Christians concerning the nature and manner of this presence were various and contradictory, nor had any council determined with precision that important point, or prescribed the manner in which this pretended presence was

☞ [*h*] This addition of the word filioque to the symbol of Nice and Constantinople, was made in the fifth and sixth centuries by the churches of Spain, and their example was followed by most of the Gallican churches, where the symbol was read and sung with this addition.

[*i*] See Le Cointe, Annal. Eccles. Francor. tom. iv. ad a. 809. —Longueval, Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. v. p. 151.

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to be understood. Both reason and folly were hitherto left free in this matter, nor had any imperious mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one, or restrained the extravagance of the other. But in this century, Pascasius Radbert, a monk, and afterwards abbot of Corbey, pretended to explain with precision, and to determine with certainty, the doctrine of the church on this head; for which purpose he composed, in the year 831, a treatise Concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ [*k*]. A second edition of this treatise, revised with care, and considerably augmented, was presented in the year 845 to Charles the Bald, and gave principally occasion to the warm and important controversy that ensued. The doctrine of Pascasius amounted in general to the two following propositions: First, that after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, nothing remained of these symbols but the outward figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally present; and, secondly, that the body of Christ thus present in the eucharist was the same body that was born of the Virgin that suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. This new doctrine, and more especially the second proposition now mentioned, excited, as might well be expected, the astonishment of many. Accordingly, it was opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Heribald, and others, though they did not all refute it in the same method, nor upon the same principles. Charles the Bald, upon this occasion, ordered the famous

[*k*] See Mabillon, Annales Benedict. ii. p. 539. An accurate edition of Radbert's book is published by Martene, in the ixth tome of his Ampliss. Collect. Veter. Scriptor. p. 378. The life and actions of this wrong-headed divine are treated of at large by Mabillon, in his Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. iv. part II. p. 126. and by the Jesuits in the Acta SS. Antwerp. ad d. xxvi. Aprilis.

Ratramn and Johannes Scotus to draw up a clear and rational explication of that important doctrine which Radbert seemed to have so egregiously corrupted [*l*]. These learned divines executed with zeal and diligence the order of the emperor. The treatise of Scotus perished in the ruins of time, but that of Ratramn is still extant [*m*], and furnished ample matter of dispute, both in the last and present century [*n*].

And carried on by his adversary Bertramn.

XX. It is remarkable that in this controversy each of the contending parties were almost as much divided among themselves as they were at variance with their adversaries. Radbert, who began the dispute, contradicts himself in many places, departs from his own principles, and maintains in one part of his book conclusions that he had disavowed in another. His principal adversary Bertramn, or Ratramn, seems in some respects liable to the same charge; he appears to follow in general the doctrine of those who deny that the body and blood of Christ are really present in the holy sacrament, and affirm, on the contrary, that they are only represented by the bread and wine as their signs or symbols. There are, however, several passages in his book which seem inconsistent with this just and rational notion of the eucharist, or at least are susceptible of different interpretations, and have

[*l*] For an account of Ratramn, or Bertramn, and his famous book which has made so much noise in the world, see Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 1661.

[*m*] A new English translation of the book of Bertramn, priest and monk of Corbey, Concerning the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament, was published in Dublin in the year 1753; to which is prefixed a very learned and judicious Historical Dissertation concerning this famous author and his works, in which both are ably defended against the calumnies and fictions of the Roman Catholic writers.

[*n*] There is an account, but a partial one, of this controversy in Mabillon's Præf. ad Sæc. iv. part II. Benedict. p. viii. which the curious reader will therefore do well to compare with Basnage's Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 909.

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therefore given rise to various disputes. Johannes Scotus, whose philosophical genius rendered him more accurate, and shed through his writings that logical precision so much wanted, and so highly desirable in polemical productions, was the only disputant in this contest who expressed his sentiments with perspicuity, method, and consistency, and declared plainly that the bread and wine were the signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ. All the other theologists of his time fluctuate and waver in their opinions, express themselves with ambiguity, and embrace and reject the same tenets at different times, as if they had no fixed or permanent principles concerning the matter in question. From all this, however, it evidently appears, that there was not as yet in the Latin church any fixed or universally received opinion concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the eucharist.

Produces unseemly disputes founded upon the imputation of monstrous consequences.

XXI. The disputants in this controversy charged each other reciprocally with the most odious doctrines, which each party drew by way of consequences from the tenets they opposed, a method of proceeding as unjust as it is common in all kinds of debate. Hence arose that imaginary heresy, that, upon the triumphant progress of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eleventh century, was branded with the title of Stercoranism, and of which the true origin was as follows: They who, embracing the opinion of Pascasius Radbert, believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament were substantially changed after the consecration, and preserved only their external figure, drew a most unjust conclusion from the opinion of their adversaries, who maintained, on the contrary, that the bread and wine preserved their substance, and that Christ's body and blood were only figuratively and not really present in

the eucharist. They alleged that the doctrine of the latter implied, that the body of Christ was digested in the stomach, and was thrown out with the other excrements. But this consequence was quickly retorted upon those that imagined it; for they who denied the metamorphosis of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ, charged the same enormous consequence upon their antagonists who believed this transmutation; and the charge was much more applicable certainly to the latter than to the former. The truth of the matter is, that it was neither truly applicable to the one nor to the other, and their mutual reproaches, most wretchedly founded, show rather a spirit of invective than a zeal for the truth. The charge of Stercoranism is but a malignant invention; it can never, without the most absurd impudence, be brought against those who deny the transmutation of the bread into the body of Christ; it may indeed be charged upon such as allow of this transmutation, though it be a consequence, that none of them, who were not frenetic, did perhaps ever avow [o].

The controversy concerning predestination and grace, set on foot by Godeschalcus.

XXII. While this controversy was at its greatest height, another of a quite different kind and of much more importance arose, whose unhappy consequences are yet felt in the reformed churches. The subject of this new contest was the doctrine of predestination and divine grace, and its rise is universally attributed to Godeschalcus, an illustrious Saxon, who had entered involuntarily into the monastic order in the convent of Fulda, from whence he removed to the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons, where he prosecuted his theological studies with great assiduity,

[o] For an account of the Stercoranists, see Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict. part II. p. 21.—J. Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 926. and a treatise of the learned Dr. Pfaff, published at Tubingue in 1750.

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but also with an insatiable desire of sounding the deepest mysteries, and of being wise above what is written. This eminent ecclesiastic, upon his return from Rome in the year 847, took up his lodging for some time with Count Eberald, one of the first noblemen at the court of the emperor Lothaire, where he discoursed largely concerning the intricate doctrine of predestination in presence of Nothingus, bishop of Verona, and maintained that God, from all eternity, had preordained some to everlasting life, and others to everlasting punishment and misery. Rabanus Maurus, who was by no means his friend, being informed of his propagating this doctrine, opposed him with all his might. To render his opposition more successful, he began by representing Godeschalcus as a corrupter of the true religion, and a forger of monstrous heresies, in some letters addressed to Count Eberald, and to the bishop of Verona. And when the accused monk came from Italy into Germany to justify himself against these clamours, and for that purpose appeared at Mentz, of which Rabanus his accuser was archbishop, he was condemned in a council assembled by the latter in that city, A. D. 848, and sent from thence to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, in whose diocese he had received the order of priesthood. Hincmar, who was devoted to the interests of Rabanus, assembled a council at Quiercy, A. D. 849, in which Godeschalcus was condemned a second time, and was also treated in a manner equally repugnant to the principles of religion and the dictates of humanity. Because he was firm in maintaining his doctrine, which he affirmed, and indeed with truth, to be the doctrine of St. Augustin, the imperious Hincmar degraded him from the priesthood, and was so barbarous as to order him to be whipped with the utmost severity, until the force of his pain over-

powering his constancy, obliged him, according to the commands of his reverend executioners, to burn with his own hands the justification of his opinions which he had presented to the council of Mentz. After these barbarous proceedings, the unfortunate monk was cast into prison in the monastery of Hautvilliers, where he ended his misery and his days in the year 868, or the year following, maintaining with his last breath the doctrine for which he had suffered.

The history of this contest.

XXIII. While Godeschalcus lay in prison, his doctrine gained him followers, his sufferings excited compassion, and both together produced a considerable schism in the Latin church. Ratramn, monk of Corbey, Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Loup, or Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, Florus, deacon of Lyons, Remi, archbishop of the same city, with his whole church, all these eminent and illustrious ecclesiastics, with many others, whom it would be tedious to mention, pleaded with the utmost zeal and vehemence, both in their writings and in their discourse, the cause of this unhappy monk, and of his condemned opinions. Some, indeed, confined themselves principally to the defence of his person and conduct; while others went farther, and employed all their zeal and all their labour, in the vindication of his doctrine. On the opposite side of the question were Hincmar, his unrighteous judge, Amalarius, the celebrated Johannes Scotus, and others, who all maintained, that Godeschalcus and his opinions had received the treatment they deserved. As the spirit of controversy ran high between these contending parties, and grew more vehement from day to day, Charles the Bald summoned a new council, or synod, which met at Quiercy, A. D. 853, in which, by the credit and influence of Hincmar, the decrees of the former council were confirmed, and of consequence Go-

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deschalcus again condemned. But the decrees of this council were declared null, and decisions of a different kind, by which Godeschalcus and his doctrine were vindicated and defended, were substituted in their place in a council assembled at Valence in Dauphiny, A. D. 855. This council was composed of the clergy of three provinces, Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, with Remi, archbishop of Lyons, at their head, and its decrees were confirmed, in the year 859, by the council of Langres, in which the same clergy were assembled, and in 860, by the council of Tousi, in which the bishops of fourteen provinces supported the cause of the persecuted monk, whose death diminished considerably the heat of this intricate controversy [p].

What judgment we are to form of this controversy.

XXIV. If we attend to the merits of this cause, we shall find that the debate subsists still in all its force, and that the doctrine of Godeschalcus has in our days both able defenders and powerful adversaries. He, undoubtedly, maintained a twofold predestination, one to everlasting life, and the other to eternal death. He held also, "that God did not desire or will the salvation of all mankind, but that of the elect only; and that Christ did not suffer death for the whole human race, but for that part of it only whom God has predestinated to eternal salvation." These decisions, which carry a severe and rigorous aspect, are softly and favourably interpreted

[p] Besides the common writers, who speak of this controversy, the curious reader will do well to consult the more learned and impartial accounts he will find of it in Cæsar Egasse de Boulay's Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. i. p. 178.—Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict. part II. p. xlvii.—Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. v. p. 352.—Usserii Historie Godeschalci, Hanoviæ 1662, in 8vo. et Dublini 1661, in 4to.—Gerhard. Joh. Vossi Historia Pelagiana, lib. vii. cap. iv.—Add Jo. Alb. Fabricii Biblioth. Latin. Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 210.

by the followers of Godeschalcus. They deny, for example, that their leader represents God as predestinating to a necessary course of iniquity those whom he has previously predestinated to eternal misery, and, according to them, the doctrine of Godeschalcus amounts to no more than this: "That God has, from all eternity, doomed to everlasting misery such as he foresaw would go on impenitent in a sinful course, and has decreed their ruin in consequence of their sins freely committed and eternally foreseen: that the salutary effects of the mercy of God, and the sufferings of Christ, extend indeed only to the elect, and are made good to them alone; though this mercy and these sufferings, considered in themselves, belong equally to all mankind." But this contradictory jargon did not satisfy the adversaries of the Predestinarian monk; they maintained, on the contrary, that under ambiguous terms and perplexed sentences Godeschalcus had concealed the most enormous errors, propagating it assiduously as an article of faith, "That God had not only by an original decree predestinated one part of mankind to eternal damnation, but had also pushed them on by an irresistible necessity, by a prepollent force, to those crimes and transgressions which were proper to render that damnation just [q]." Without

[q] The cause of Godeschalcus has been very learnedly defended by the celebrated Maguin, who published also a valuable edition, which is yet extant, of all the treatises that were composed on both sides of this intricate controversy. This interesting collection, which was printed at Paris in the year 1650, in two volumes 4to, bears the following title: Veterum auctorum qui Nono Sæculo de Predestinatione et Gratia scripserunt, Opera et Fragmenta, cum Historia et gemina Fræfatione. Cardinal Noris maintained also the cause of the Predestinarian monk with more brevity, but less moderation than Maguin. This brief vindication may be seen in the Synopsis Historiæ Godeschalcanæ, which is inserted

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determining any thing upon such an intricate and incomprehensible subject, with respect to which silence is the truest wisdom, we shall only observe, that the private quarrels, and mutual hatred, that prevailed between Rabanus Maurus and Godeschalcus, were the real source of the Predestinarian controversy, and of all the calamities in which it involved that unfortunate monk [r].

Hincmar and Godeschalcus dispute concerning the words Trina Deitas.

XXV. Another, though less important controversy arose about this time, concerning the concluding words of a very ancient hymn, which runs thus; *te, trina Deitas unaque, poscimus*, which may be thus translated, "O God, who art *three*, and at the same time but *one*, we beseech thee, &c." Hincmar wisely prohibited the singing these words in the churches that were under his jurisdiction, from a persuasion that they tended to introduce into the minds of the multitude notions inconsistent with the unity and sim-

in the 4th volume of the works of that cardinal, p. 677. All the Benedictines, Jansenists, and Augustin monks maintain, almost without exception, that Godeschalcus was most unjustly persecuted and oppressed by Rabanus Maurus. The Jesuits are of a different opinion; they assert in general, and Louis Cellot, one of their order, has in a more particular manner laboured to demonstrate in his Historia Godeschalci Predestinationis, published at Paris in 1655, that the monk in question was justly condemned, and deservedly punished.

[r] The parents of Godeschalcus consecrated him to God, by devoting him from his infancy, as was the custom of the times, to the monastic life in the monastery of Fulda. The young monk, however, being arrived at a certain age, seemed much disposed to abandon his retreat, to shake off his religious fetters, and return again into society; but he was prevented from the execution of this purpose by Rabanus Maurus, who kept him, against his will, in his monastic bonds. Hence a violent contest arose between these two ecclesiastics, in which Lewis the Meek was obliged to interpose, and hence the furious disputes concerning predestination and grace. See Centuriæ Magdeb. Cent. ix. c. 10.—Mabillon, Annal. Bened. tom. ii. ad a. 829. p. 523.

plicity of the Supreme Being, and might lead them to imagine that there were three Gods. But the Benedictine monks refused to obey this mandate, and Bertramn, who was one of the most eminent of that order, wrote a large book to prove the expression *trina Deitas*, or threefold Deity, orthodox, from the authority of fathers, which was esteemed the only criterion of truth in these miserable times. Godeschalcus, who now lay in prison, heard of this dispute, entered warmly into it, and in a laboured dissertation supported the cause of his Benedictine Brethren, on which account Hincmar accused him of tritheism, and drew up a treatise to prove the charge, and to refute that impious and enormous heresy. This controversy, however, was but of a short duration, and the exceptionable passage of the hymn in question maintained its credit, notwithstanding all the efforts of Hincmar, and continued, as before, to be sung in the churches [*s*].

The manner of Christ's birth becomes a subject of debate.

XXVI. A vain curiosity, and not any design of promoting useful knowledge and true piety, was the main source of the greatest part of the controversies that were carried on in this century. And it was more especially this idle curiosity, carried to an indecent and most extravagant length, that gave rise to the controversy concerning the manner in which Christ was born of the Virgin, which began in Germany, and made its way from thence into France. Certain Germans maintained, that Jesus proceeded from his mother's womb in a manner quite different from those general and uniform laws of nature that regulate the birth of the human species; which opinion was no sooner known in France, than it was warmly opposed by the famous Ratramn, who wrote a book ex-

[*s*] There is an account of this controversy given by the writers of the life, actions, and doctrines of Godeschalcus.

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pressly to prove that Christ entered into the world in the very same way with other mortals, and that his Virgin-mother bare him, as other women bring forth their offspring. Pascasius Radbert, who was constantly employed, either in inventing or patronising the most extravagant fancies, adopted the opinion of the German doctors, and composed an elaborate treatise to prove that Christ was born, without his mother's womb being opened, in the same manner as he came into the chamber where his disciples were assembled after his resurrection, though the door was shut. He also charged those who held the opinion of Ratramn with denying the virginity of Mary. This fruitless dispute was soon hushed, and gave place to controversies of superior moment [*t*].

The first controversy between the Greeks and Latins on the account of Photius.

XXVII. Of all the controversies that divided Christians in this century, the most interesting, though at the same time the most lamentable, was that which occasioned the fatal schism between the Greek and Latin churches. A vindictive and jealous spirit of animosity and contention had, for a long time, prevailed between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, and had sometimes broke out into acts of violence and rage. The ambition and fury of these contending prelates grew still more keen and vehement about the time of Leo the Isaurian, when the bishops of Constantinople, seconded by the power and authority of the emperors, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs many provinces, over which they had hitherto exercised a spiritual dominion [*u*]. But in this century they arose to an

[*t*] See Lucas Dacherius, his Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor. tom. i. p. 396. Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict. part II. p. 51.

[*u*] See Giannone, Histoire de Naples, tom. i. p. 535. 646.—Petr. de Marca, De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. i. cap. i. p. 6.—Lequien, Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 96.

enormous height, and broke forth into a most dreadful flame, in the year 858 [*w*], when the learned Photius was chosen patriarch of Constantinople, by the emperor Michael, in the place of Ignatius, whom that prince drove from his see and sent into exile. For this violent proceeding, though it was justified and applauded by a council assembled at Constantinople in the year 861, was far from being attended with a general approbation. Ignatius appealed from this council to the Roman pontiff Nicolas I. who espoused his interests; and in a council assembled at Rome A. D. 862, excommunicated Photius as unlawfully elected, and his abettors for having been concerned in such an unrighteous cause. The new patriarch, however, was so far from being terrified or dejected by this excommunication, that he returned the compliment to the Roman pontiff, and in a council assembled at Constantinople, in the year 866, he declared Nicolas unworthy both of the place he held in the church, and also of being admitted to the communion of Christians.

XXVIII. The Roman pontiff alleged a specious pretext for his appearing in this matter with such violence, and exciting such unhappy commotions in the church. This pretext was the innocence of Ignatius, whom, upon an accusation of treason, whether true or false, the emperor had degraded from his patriarchal dignity. This, however, was but a mere pretext; ambition and interest were the true, though secret springs, that directed the motions of Nicolas, who would have born with patience, nay, beheld with indifference, the unjust sufferings of Ignatius, could he

☞ [*w*] In the original, there stands 852, but as this is probably an error of the press, the translator has taken the liberty to correct it in the text.

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but have recovered from the Greeks the provinces of Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly, and Sicily, which the emperor and Photius had removed from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff. Before he engaged in the cause of Ignatius, he sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople, to demand the restitution of these provinces; but his demand was rejected with contempt. And hence, under pretence of avenging the injuries committed against Ignatius, he indulged without restraint his own private resentment, and thus covered with the mask of justice the fury of disappointed ambition and avarice.

A second contest concerning the same person. Photius degraded.

XXIX. While things were in this troubled state, and the flame of controversy was growing more violent from day to day, Basilius the Macedonian, who, by the murder of his predecessor, had paved his way to the imperial throne, calmed at once these tumults, and restored peace to the church, by recalling Ignatius from exile to the high station from which he had been degraded, and by confining Photius in a monastery. This imperial act of authority was solemnly approved and confirmed by a council assembled at Constantinople, in the year 869, in which the legates of the Roman pontiff Adrian II. had great influence, and were treated with the highest marks of distinction [x]. The Latins acknowledge this assembly as the eighth oecumenical council, and in it the religious contests between them and the Greeks were concluded, or at least hushed and suspended. But the controversy concerning the authority of the Roman pontiffs, the limits of their ghostly empire, and particularly their jurisdiction in Bulgaria, still subsisted; nor could all the

[x] The writers on both sides of this controversy are enumerated by Fabricius, in his Bibl. Græca, vol. iv. c. xxxviii. p. 372.

efforts of papal ambition engage either Ignatius or the emperor to give up Bulgaria, or any other province to the see of Rome.

XXX. The contest that had arisen between the Greeks and Latins, concerning the elevation of Photius, was of such a nature as to admit of an easy and effectual remedy. But the haughty and ambitious spirit of this learned and ingenious patriarch fed the flame of discord instead of extinguishing it, and, unhappily, perpetuated the troubles and divisions of the Christian church. In the year 866, he added to the see of Constantinople the province of Bulgaria, with which the pontiff Nicolas had formed the design of augmenting his own spiritual dominions, and was most bitterly provoked at missing his aim. Photius went yet farther, and entered into measures every way unworthy of his character and station; for he not only sent a circular letter to the oriental patriarchs to engage them to espouse his private cause, as the public and momentous cause of the church, but drew up a most violent charge of heresy against the Roman bishops, who had been sent among the new converted Bulgarians, and against the church of Rome in general. The articles of corrupt doctrine, or heresy, which this imperious and exasperated prelate brought against the Romans were as follows: First, That they fasted on the Sabbath, or seventh day of the week. Secondly, That in the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese. Thirdly, That they prohibited their priests to marry, and separated from their wives such as were married, when they went into orders [*y*]. Fourthly, That they

[*y*] Photius attributes to this forced and unnatural celibacy of the clergy that multitude of children whose fathers were unknown. Remarkable to this purpose is the following passage from a book of Alvarus Delagius, bishop of Sylva in Portugal,

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maintained that the bishops alone were authorized to anoint with the holy chrism baptized persons, and that they, of consequence, who had been anointed by presbyters were obliged to receive that unction a second time from the hand of a bishop. Lastly, That they had adulterated the symbol or creed of Constantinople, by adding to it the word filioque, *i. e.* and from the son, and were therefore of opinion that the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Father only, but also from the Son [*z*]. Nicolas I. finding the Roman church thus attacked, sent the articles of this accusation to Hincmar, and the other Gallican bishops in the year 867, desiring them to assemble their respective suffragans in order to examine and answer the reproach of Photius. Pursuant to this exhortation of the pontiff, Odo, Aeneas, and Ado, bishops of Beauvais, Paris, and Vienne, as also the celebrated Ratramn, stept forth gallantly into the field of controversy against the Greeks, answered one by one the accusations of Photius, and employed the whole force of their erudition and zeal in maintaining the cause of the Latin churches [*a*].

De Planctu Ecclesiæ; "It were to be wished," says he, "that the clergy had never vowed chastity, especially the clergy of Spain, where the sons of the laity are not much more numerous than the sons of the clergy."

[*z*] See the letter of Photius in the collection published by bishop Montague, N. II. p. 47. Other writers mention ten heads of accusation brought against Photius, but such do not distinguish between the first and second controversy that arose between the Greeks and Latins, and they add to the articles, with which this patriarch was charged, those that were drawn up in the time of Michael Cerularius. Certain it is, that in the epistle of Photius, which relates only to the first controversy, and is the only criterion by which we ought to judge of it, there are no more heads of accusation than the five which we have enumerated in the text.

[*a*] Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Bened. part II. p. 55.

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XXXI. Upon the death of Ignatius, which happened in the year 878, the emperor took Photius into favour, and placed him again at the head of the Greek church in the patriarchal dignity from whence he had fallen. This restoration of the degraded patriarch was agreed to by the Roman pontiff John VIII., upon condition, however, that Photius would permit the Bulgarians to come under the jurisdiction of the see of Rome. The latter promised to satisfy in this the demands of the pontiff, to which the emperor also seemed to consent [*b*]; and hence it was that John VIII. sent legates to the council which was held at Constantinople, A. D. 879, by whom he declared his approbation of the acts of that assembly, and acknowledged Photius as his brother in Christ. The promises, however, of the emperor and the patriarch were far from being accomplished; for after this council, the former, most probably by the advice, or at least with the consent, of the latter, refused to transfer the province of Bulgaria to the Roman pontiff; and it must be confessed that this refusal was founded upon most weighty and important reasons. The pontiff, notwithstanding, was highly irritated at this disappointment, and sent Marinus to Constantinople in the character of legate, to declare that he had changed his mind concerning Photius, and that he entirely approved of the sentence of excommunication that had been formerly given against him. The legate, upon delivering this disagreeable message, was cast into prison by the emperor, but was afterwards set free; and being raised to the pontificate upon the death of John VIII., recalled the remembrance of this injurious treatment, and levelled a new sentence of condemnation against Photius.

Restored to his see.

[*b*] Mich. le Quien, Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 103.

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XXXII. This sentence was treated with contempt by the haughty patriarch: but about six years after this period, he experienced anew the fragility of sublunary grandeur and elevation, by a fall which concluded his prosperous days. For in the year 886, Leo, surnamed the Philosopher, the son and successor of Basilius, deposed him from the patriarchal see, and confined him in an Armenian monastery, where he died in the year 891. The death of Photius, who was the only author of the schisms that divided the Greeks and Latins, might have been an occasion of removing these unhappy contests, and of restoring peace and concord in the church, if the Roman pontiffs had not been regardless of the demands of equity as well as of the duty of Christian moderation. But these imperious lords of the church indulged their vindictive zeal beyond all measure, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the degradation of all the priests and bishops who had been ordained by Photius. The Greeks, on the other hand, were shocked at the arrogance of these unjust pretensions, and would not submit to them on any conditions. Hence a spirit of resentment and irritation renewed the spirit of dispute, which had been happily declining; religious as well as civil contests were again set on foot; new controversies were added to the old, until the fatal schism took place which produced a lasting and total separation between the Greek and Latin church.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

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Several writers explain the origin of the rites and ceremonies now used in the church.

I. THAT religious rites and ceremonies were multiplied from day to day, appears evidently from the labours of those writers who began in this century to explain to the ignorant multitude their origin, their nature, and the purposes they served; for the multiplicity alone of these religious rites could render the explication of them necessary. Johannes Scotus, Angelome, Remi, or Remigius, bishop of Auxerre, and Walafridus Strabo, were the principal authors who distinguished themselves in this species of sacred literature, to whom we may add Amalarius, many of whose explanations were, however, refuted by Agobard and Florus. Their works are generally entitled, De Officiis Divinis, for in the style of this age religious ceremonies were called by that name. The labours of these pious and learned men in illustrating the ritual were undoubtedly undertaken with good intentions; but their utility may be well called into question; and it would be bold to affirm that they were not as prejudicial to the church in some respects, as they might be advantageous to it in others. Their books afforded, indeed, a certain sort of spiritual nourishment to the minds of Christians in their attendance upon public worship; but this nourishment was both coarse and unwholesome. The reasons alleged for the ceremonies in vogue at this time in the church, and the purposes they were supposed to answer, were, for the most part, not only far fetched, childish, and ridiculous, but also bore the strongest marks of forgery and fiction. It is also

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farther observable, that these illustrations not only encouraged, but augmented prodigiously, and that to the detriment of real piety, the veneration and zeal of the multitude for external rites and ceremonies For who would dare to refuse their admiration and reverence to institutions which they were taught to consider as full of the most mysterious wisdom, and founded upon the most pious and affecting reasons?

A general account of those rites.

II. It would be endless to enter into an exact enumeration of the various rites and ceremonies which were now introduced, for the first time, and of which some were adopted by the whole body of Christians, and others only by certain churches. We shall therefore dismiss this matter with the general account which follows, and point out in the notes the sources from whence the curious reader may derive a more particular knowledge of the absurdities of this superstitious age. The carcases of the saints transported from foreign countries, or discovered at home by the industry and diligence of pious or designing priests, not only obliged the rulers of the church to augment the number of festivals or holidays already established, but also to diversify the ceremonies in such a manner that each saint might have his peculiar worship. And as the authority and credit of the clergy depended much upon the high notion which was generally entertained of the virtue and merit of the saints they had canonized, and presented to the multitude as objects of religious veneration, it was necessary to amuse and surprise the people by a variety of pompous and striking ceremonies, by images, and such like inventions, in order to keep up and nourish their stupid admiration for the saintly tribe. Hence the splendor and magnificence that were lavished upon the churches in this century, and the prodigious number of costly pictures and images with

which they were adorned; hence the stately altars, which were enriched with the noblest inventions of painting and sculpture, and illuminated with innumerable tapers at noon-day; hence the multitude of processions, the gorgeous and splendid garments of the priests, and the masses that were celebrated in honour of the saints [c]. Among other novelties, the feast of All Saints was added, in this century, by Gregory IV. to the Latin calendar [d]; and the festival of St. Michael, which had been long kept with the greatest marks of devotion and respect by the Orientals and Italians, began now to be observed more zealously and universally among the Latin Christians [e].

Superstition insinuates itself into the transactions of civil life.

III. Nor was it only in the solemn acts of religious worship that superstition reigned with an unlimited sway; its influence extended even to the affairs of private life, and was observable in the civil transactions of men, particularly among the Latin Christians, who retained with more obstinacy than the Greeks a multitude of customs, which derived their origin from the sacred rites of paganism. The barbarous nations, which were converted to Christianity, could not support the thoughts of abandoning altogether the laws and manners of their ancestors, however inconsistent they might be with the indispensable demands of the gospel; nay, they persuaded, on the contrary, the Christians among whom they lived to imitate their extravagant superstition in this respect. And this was the true and original source of those barbarous in-

[c] See Jo. Fechtii Liber Singularis de Missis in honorem Sanctorum.

[d] See Mabillon, De Re Diplomatica, p. 537.

[e] The holidays or festivals of the saints were as yet but few in number among the Latins, as appears from a poem of Florus, published by Martene in the fifth volume of his Thesaurus Anecdotor. p. 595.

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stitutions that prevailed among the Latins, during this and the following century: such as the various methods by which it was usual for persons accused to prove their innocence in doubtful cases, either by the trial of cold water [*f*], by

☞ [*f*] All these were presumptuous attempts to force the divine providence to declare itself miraculously in favour of the truth. In the trial of cold water, the person accused had the right foot and left hand bound together, and was, in this posture, thrown naked into the water. If he sunk, he was acquitted; but if he floated upon the surface, this was considered as an evidence of guilt. The most respectable authors, ancient and modern, attribute the invention of this superstitious trial to Pope Eugenius II.; and it is somewhat surprising that Mr. Bower has taken no notice of it in his history of that pontiff. Baluzius has inserted in the second volume of his Capitularia the solemn forms of prayer and protestation, that Eugenius had caused to be drawn up as an introduction to this superstitious practice; and Fleury and Spanheim look upon that pontiff as its first inventor. On the other hand, father Le Brun, a priest of the oratory, maintains, in his Histoire Critique des Pratiques Superstitieuses, tom. ii. p. 140, &c. edit. d'Amsterdam, that this custom was much more ancient than Eugenius, and his reasons are not unworthy of attention. Be that as it may, this custom was condemned and abrogated at the request, or rather by the authority, of Lewis the Meek, about the year 829. It was, however, revived afterwards, and was practised in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, as we shall see in the progress of this history. For an account of the trial of cold water, Dr. Mosheim refers us, in a note, to Mabillon's Analecta Veteris Ævi, tom. i. p. 47. and Roye's De Missis Dominicis, p. 152.

The trial by duel, or single combat, was introduced towards the conclusion of the fifth century by Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, after that the abuse of oaths had occasioned the most horrible perjuries, and opened a door to all sorts of injustice. The duel was then added to the oath by Gondebaud; the successful combatant was supposed to be in the right, and this barbarous test of truth and justice was, in spite of humanity and common sense, adopted by the Lombards, French, and Germans, and derived from them to other nations. It was prohibited first in the year 855, in the third council of Valence in Dauphiny.

The fire ordeal was practised in various ways. The accused either held a burning ball of iron in his hand, or was obliged to walk barefoot upon heated plough-shares, whose number

single combat [*g*], by the fire ordeal [*h*], and by the cross [*i*]. It is no longer a question in our days, from whence these methods of deciding du-

was increased in proportion to the number or enormity of the crimes imputed to him; and sometimes a glove of red-hot iron was used on this occasion, as we see in the tenth book of the history of Denmark, by Saxon the Grammarian. If in these trials the person impeached remained unhurt, and discovered no signs of pain, he was discharged as innocent; otherwise he was punished as guilty. The first account we have of Christians appealing to this kind of trial as a proof of their innocence, is that of Simplicius, bishop of Autun, who lived in the fourth century. This prelate, as the story goes, before his promotion to the episcopal order, had married a wife who loved him tenderly, and who, unwilling to quit him after his advancement, continued to sleep in the same chamber with her spouse. The sanctity of Simplicius suffered, at least in the voice of fame, by the constancy of his wife's affection, and it was rumoured about, that the holy man, though a bishop, persisted in opposition to the ecclesiastical canons to taste the sweets of matrimony. Upon which, the dame, in presence of a great concourse of people, took up a considerable quantity of burning coals, which she held in her clothes, and applied to her breast, without the least hurt to her person or damage to her garments, as the legend says, and her example being followed by her husband, with like success, the silly multitude admired the miracle, and proclaimed the innocence of the loving pair. Bricius, or St. Brice, (whom Mr. Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History of England, vol. i. p. 231. represents by mistake as the first Christian who endeavoured to clear himself in this way) played a trick of much the same nature in the fifth century.

The trial by the cross was made by obliging the contending parties to stretch out their arms, and he that continued the longest in this posture gained his cause.

[*g*] Jo. Loccenii Antiquit. Sueo-Gothicæ, lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 144. This barbarous method of deciding controversies by duel was practised even by the clergy. See Just. Hen. Bœmeri Jus Eccles. Protestantium, tom. v. p. 88.

[*h*] Petr. Lambecius, Rerum Hamburg. lib. ii. p. 39.—Usserii Sylloge Epistol. Hibernic. p. 81.—Johnson, Leges Eccles. Britannicæ.—Michael de la Roche, Memoires Litter. de la Grande Bretagne, tom. viii. p. 391.

[*i*] See Agobardus, Contra Judicium Dei, tom. i. opp. et Contra Legem Gundobadi, cap. ix. p. 114. Hier. Bignonius, Ad Formulas Marculphi, cap. xii. Baluzius, Ad Agobardum, p. 104.

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bious cases and accusations derived their origin; all agree that they were mere delusions, drawn from the barbarous rites of paganism [k], and not only opposite to the precepts of the gospel, but absolutely destructive of the spirit of true religion. The pontiffs, however, and the inferior clergy encouraged these odious superstitions, and went so far as to accompany the practice of them with the celebration of the Lord's Supper and other rites, in order to give them a Christian aspect, and to recommend them to the veneration and confidence of the multitude.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this Century.

The ancient sects still in being.

I. THE sects that had sprung up in the earlier ages of the church subsisted still, without almost any change in their situations or circumstances that is worthy of mention. Such of them as were considerably numerous, fixed their settlements beyond the limits both of the Greek and Latin empires, and thus out of the reach of their enemies. The Nestorians more especially, and the Monophysites, secure under the protection of the Arabians, were extremely industrious in maintaining their credit, and also discovered a warm and active

[k] Strabo tells us in the fifth book of his Geography, that while the sacred rites of the goddess Feronia were celebrated in a grove not far from mount Soracte, several persons, transported with the imaginary presence of this pretended divinity, fell into fits of enthusiasm, and walked bare-footed over heaps of burning coals without receiving the least damage. The historian adds, that a spectacle so extraordinary drew a prodigious concourse of people to this annual solemnity. Pliny relates something of the same nature concerning the Hirpii. See his Nat. Hist. book vii. chap. ii.

zeal in the propagation of Christianity among those who were yet unacquainted with that divine religion. Some learned men are of opinion, that it was only in this century that the Abyssinians or Ethiopians embraced the sentiments of the Monophysites, in consequence of the exhortations addressed to them by the doctors of that sect who resided in Egypt. But this is undoubtedly a wrong account of the matter; for it is certain, that the Abyssinians, who were accustomed to receive their spiritual guide from the bishop of Alexandria, commenced Monophysites in the seventh century, if not sooner. For in that period the Arabians made themselves masters of Egypt, oppressed the Greeks, and granted to the Monophysites such a powerful protection, as enabled them to reduce under their jurisdiction almost all the churches that had been established in Egypt [*l*].

The Paulicians.

II. The Greeks, during the greatest part of this century, were engaged in a most bitter controversy; or, to speak more properly, in a bloody and barbarous war with the Paulicians, a sect that may be considered as a branch of the Manichæans, and which resided principally in Armenia. This pernicious sect is said to have been formed in Armenia by two brothers, Paul and John, sons of Callinices, and inhabitants of Samosatena, from the former of whom it derives its name: though others are of opinion, that the Paulicians were so called from another Paul, an Armenian by birth, who lived under the reign of Justinian II [*m*]. Be that as it may, a certain zealot called Constantine revived, in the seventh century, under

[*l*] Nouveaux Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant, tom. iv. p. 283, 284.—Le Grand, Dissert. iv.—Lobo, Voyage Historique de l'Abyssinie, tom. ii. p. 18.

[*m*] Photius, lib. i. Contra Manichæos, p. 74, in B. Wolfii Anecdotis Græcis, tom. i.

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the government of Constans, this drooping faction, which had suffered deeply from the violence of its adversaries, and was ready to expire under the severity of the imperial edicts, and of those penal laws which were executed against its adherents with the utmost rigour. Constans, Justinian II., and Leo the Isaurian, exerted their zeal against the Paulicians with a peculiar degree of bitterness and fury, and left no method of oppression unemployed, no means of accomplishing their ruin that were not put in execution; but their efforts were ineffectual, nor could all their power, nor all their barbarity, exhaust the patience nor conquer the obstinacy of that inflexible people, who, with a fortitude worthy of a better cause, made light of the calamities to which their erroneous doctrine exposed them. The face of things changed, however, to their advantage towards the commencement of this century, and their affairs carried a more prosperous aspect under the protection of the emperor Nicephorus, who favoured them in a particular manner, and restored to them their civil privileges, as well as their religious liberty [*n*].

Persecuted anew.

III. Their tranquillity, however, was but of short duration; it was a transient scene that was soon to be succeeded by yet more dreadful sufferings than they had hitherto experienced. The cruel rage of persecution, which had for some years been suspended, broke forth with redoubled violence under the reigns of Michael Curopalates, and Leo the Armenian, who caused the strictest search to be made after the Paulicians in all the provinces of the Grecian empire, and inflicted capital punishment upon such of them as refused to return to the bosom of the church.

[*n*] See Georg. Cedrenus, Compend. Historiar. tom. ii. p. 480. Edit. Paris. p. 379.

This rigorous decree turned the affliction of the Paulicians, who dwelt in Armenia, into vengeance, and drove them into the most desperate measures. They massacred Thomas, bishop of New Cæsarea, and also the magistrates and judges which the emperors had established in Armenia: and after avenging themselves thus cruelly, they took refuge in the countries that were governed by the Saracens, and from thence infested the neighbouring states of Greece with perpetual incursions [o]. After these reciprocal acts of cruelty and vengeance, the Paulicians, as it would seem, enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, and returned to their habitations in the Grecian provinces.

The fate of the Paulicians under Theodora.

IV. But the most dreadful scene of persecution and bloodshed that was exhibited against these wretched heretics arose from the furious and inconsiderate zeal of the empress Theodora. This impetuous woman, who was regent of the empire during the minority of her son, issued out a decree, which placed the Paulicians in the perplexing alternative either of abandoning their principles, or of perishing by fire and sword. The decree was severe, but the cruelty with which it was put in execution by those who were sent into Armenia for that purpose was horrible beyond expression; for these ministers of wrath, after confiscating the goods of above an hundred thousand of that miserable people, put their possessors to death in the most barbarous manner, and made them expire slowly in a variety of the most exquisite tortures. Such as escaped destruction fled for protection and refuge to the Saracens, who received them with compassion and humanity, and permitted them to build a city for their residence, which was called Tibrica. Upon this they entered

[o] Photius, lib. i. Contra Manichæos, p. 125. Petri Siculi Historia Manichæorum, p. 71.

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into a league with the Saracens; and, choosing for their chief an officer of the greatest resolution and valour, whose name was Carbeas, they declared against the Greeks a war which was carried on with the utmost vehemence and fury. This bloody war continued during this whole century; the victory seemed often doubtful, but the slaughter was terrible, and the numbers that perished on both sides prodigious. Many of the Grecian provinces felt, in a more particular manner, the dire effects of this cruel contest, and exhibited the most moving scenes of desolation and misery [*p*]. During these commotions, some Paulicians, towards the conclusion of this century, spread abroad among the Bulgarians their pestilential doctrines, which were received with docility, and took root speedily, as might naturally be expected among a barbarous people that were

[*p*] Georg. Cedrenus, Compend. Hist. p. 541. edit. Paris, p. 425. edit. Venet. p. 547, et 429, &c. Zonaras, Annal. lib. xvi. tom. ii. p. 122. edit. Venet. The principal authors who have given accounts of the Paulicians are Photius, lib. i. Contra Manichæos, and Petrus Siculus, whose history of the Manichæans was published in Greek and Latin at Ingoldstadt, in 1604, by Matth. Raderus. By the account of Petrus Siculus that is given by himself, we learn that in the year 870, under the reign of Basilius the Macedonian, he was sent ambassador to the Paulicians at Tibrica, to treat with them concerning the exchange of prisoners, and lived among them during the space of nine months; this is sufficient to give us a high idea of the power and prosperity of the Paulicians at that time. It is from this eminent writer that Cedrenus seems to have taken what he has advanced in his Compend. Hist. p. 431. What we learn concerning the Paulicians from more modern writers, such as Bayle, in his Dictionary, and B. Jo. Christ. Wolfius, in his Manichæismus ante Manichæos, p. 247, seems to be derived from Bossuet's Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, tom. ii. p. 129. But this authority is highly exceptionable: for Bossuet himself did not consult the true sources of knowledge upon this point; and what is still worse, the spirit of party seems manifestly to have led him into voluntary errors.

but lately made converts to the Christian faith [q].

V. The Greeks treated the Paulicians, of whom we have been now speaking, as Manichæans; though, if we may credit the testimony of Photius, the Paulicians expressed the utmost abhorrence of Manes and his doctrine [r]. Most evident it is that they were not altogether Manichæans, though they embraced some opinions that resembled certain tenets of that abominable sect. They had not, like the Manichæans, an ecclesiastical government administered by bishops, priests, and deacons: they had no sacred order of men distinguished by their manner of life, their habit, or any other circumstance from the rest of the assembly; nor had councils, synods, or such like institutions any place in their religious polity. They had certain doctors whom they called Synecdemi, *i. e.* companions in the journey of life, and also Notarii. Among these, there reigned a perfect equality, and they had no peculiar rights, privileges, nor any external mark of dignity to distinguish them from the people [s]. The only singularity that attended their promotion to the rank of doctors was, that they changed their lay-names for scripture ones, as if there had been something peculiarly venerable in the names of the holy men, whose lives and actions are recorded

Whether or not the Paulicians were Manichæans.

[q] It is not improbable that there are yet in Thrace and Bulgaria, Paulicians, or Paulians, as they are called by some. It appears at least certain, that in the last century some of that sect still subsisted, and dwelt at Nicopolis, as we learn from the testimony of Urb. Cerri, in his Etat Present de l'Eglise Romaine, p. 72. who tells us, that Peter Deodati, archbishop of Sophia, caused them to abandon their errors, and return to the catholic faith; but whether this latter part of the account be true or false, is more than we shall pretend to determine.

[r] Photius, lib. i. Contra Manichæos, p. 17. 56. 65.—Petr. Siculus, Hist. Manich. p. 43.

[s] Photius, l. c. p. 31, 32. Petr. Sicul. p. 44. Cedrenus, l. c. p. 431.

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in the sacred writings. They received all the books of the New Testament, except the Two Epistles of St. Peter, which they rejected for reasons unknown to us; and their copies of the gospel were exactly the same with those used by all other Christians, without the least interpolation of the sacred text; in which respect also they differed considerably from the Manichæans [*t*]. They moreover recommended to the people without exception, and that with the most affecting and ardent zeal, the constant and assiduous perusal of the holy scriptures, and expressed the utmost indignation against the Greeks, who allowed to the priests alone an access to these sacred fountains of divine knowledge [*u*]. In explaining, however, the doctrines of the gospel, they often departed from the literal sense, and the natural signification of the words, and interpreted them in a forced and allegorical manner, when they opposed their favourite opinions and tenets [*w*]: and such more especially were the delusive and erroneous explications, which they gave of what is said in the gospel concerning the institutions of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the divine authority of the Old Testament, all which they obstinately rejected. Besides the books of the New Testament, they treated with a particular veneration certain epistles of Sergius, the most eminent and illustrious doctor of their sect.

The opinions of the Paulicians.

VI. None of the Greek writers have given a complete view of the Paulician system, which was undoubtedly composed of a great variety of tenets; they content themselves with mentioning six monstrous errors, which, in their estimation, rendered the Paulicians unworthy of enjoying either the comforts of this world, or the happi-

[*t*] Photius, l. c. p. 11.—Petr. Sicul. p. 19.
[*u*] Photius, l. c. p. 101.—Petr. Sicul. p. 57.
[*w*] Photius, l. c. p. 12.

ness of the next. These errors are as follows: 1. "They deny that this inferior and visible world is the production of the Supreme Being, and they distinguish the Creator of this world, and of human bodies, from the most high God, who dwells in the heavens." It was principally on account of this odious doctrine, which was, however, adopted by all the Gnostic sects, that the Paulicians were looked upon as Manichæans by the Greeks. But what their sentiments were concerning the Creator of this world, and whether or not they considered him as a Being distinct from the evil principle, are matters that no writer has hitherto explained in a satisfactory manner. We learn only from Photius, that according to the Paulician doctrine, the evil principle was engendered by darkness and fire: from whence it plainly follows that he was neither self-originated, nor eternal [*x*]. 2. "They treated contemptuously the Virgin Mary;" that is to say, according to the manner of speaking usual among the Greeks, they refused to adore and worship her. They maintained, indeed, that Christ was the Son of Mary, and was born of her (al-

[*x*] Photius, lib. ii. Contra Manichæos, p. 147. It is evident, beyond all contradiction, that the Paulicians, in imitation of the Oriental philosophers from whom the Gnostics and Manichæans derived their origin, considered eternal matter as the seat and source of all evil; but they believed, at the same time, like many of the Gnostics, that this matter, endued from all eternity with life and motion, had produced an active principle, which was the fountain of vice, misery, and disorder. This principle, according to them, is the author of all material substances; while God is the Creator and Father of spirits. These tenets resemble, no doubt, the Manichæan doctrine; yet they differ from it in several points. It appears most probable, that the Paulicians were a branch of some of the ancient Gnostic sects, which were extremely numerous and diversified, and which, though persecuted and oppressed from age to age in the most rigorous manner by many emperors, could never be entirely suppressed, nor totally extirpated.

though they maintained, as appears from the express testimony of their adversaries, that the divine Saviour brought with him from heaven his human nature, and that Mary, after the birth of Christ, had other children by Joseph); they only fell into the sentiments of the Valentinians, and held, that Christ passed through the womb of the Virgin as the pure stream of limpid water passes through a conduit, and that Mary did not preserve her virginity to the end of her days; all which assertions the Greeks rejected with the utmost antipathy and abhorrence. 3. "They refused to celebrate the holy institution of the Lord's Supper;" for as they looked upon many precepts and injunctions of the gospel to be of a merely figurative and parabolical nature, so they understood by the bread and wine which Christ is said to have administered to his disciples at his last supper, the divine discourses and exhortations of the Saviour, which are a spiritual food and nourishment to the soul, and fill it with repose, satisfaction, and delight [*y*]. 4. "They loaded the cross of Christ with contempt and reproach;" by which we are only to understand, that they refused to follow the absurd and superstitious practice of the Greeks, who paid to the pretended wood of the cross a certain sort of religious homage. As the Paulicians believed that Christ was clothed with an etherial, impassible, and celestial body, they could by no means grant that he was really nailed to the cross, or that he expired, in effect, upon that ignominious tree:

[*y*] The Greeks do not charge the Paulicians with any error concerning baptism; it is, however, certain, that the accounts of that sacred institution, which are given in scripture, were allegorically explained by this extravagant sect; and Photius, in his First Book against the Manichæans, p. 29. expressly asserts, that the Paulicians treated baptism as a mere allegorical ceremony, and by the baptismal water understood the gospel.

and hence naturally arose that treatment of the cross, of which the Greeks accused them. 5. "They rejected, after the example of the greatest part of the Gnostics, the books of the Old Testament, and looked upon the writers of that sacred history as inspired by the Creator of this world, and not by the supreme God. 6. They excluded presbyters and elders from all part in the administration of the church." By this, however, no more can be meant than that they refused to call their doctors by the name of presbyters; a name which had its origin among the Jews, and was peculiar to that odious people, who persecuted Jesus Christ, and attempted, as the Paulicians speak, to put him to death [z].

[z] These six famous errors of the Paulicians I have taken from the Manichæan history of Petrus Siculus, with whom Photius and Cedrenus agree, although their accounts of these opinions be less perspicuous and distinct. The explanatory remarks that I have added are the result of my own reflections upon the Paulician system, and the doctrine of the Greeks.

THE

TENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the Church during this Century.

CENT. X. PART I.

The propagation of the Christian religion.

I. THE deplorable state of Christianity in this century, arising partly from that astonishing ignorance that gave a loose rein both to superstition and immorality, and partly from an unhappy concurrence of causes of another kind, is unanimously lamented by the various writers, who have transmitted to us the history of these miserable times. Yet amidst all this darkness, some gleams of light were perceived from time to time, and several occurrences happened, which deserve a place in the prosperous annals of the church. The Nestorians in Chaldæa extended their spiritual conquests beyond mount Imaus, and introduced the Christian religion into Tartary, properly so called, whose inhabitants had hitherto lived in their natural state of ignorance and ferocity, uncivilized and savage. The same successful missionaries spread, by degrees, the knowledge of the Gospel among that most powerful nation of the Turks, or Tartars, which went by the

name of Karit, and bordered on Kathay, or on the northern part of China [a]. The laborious industry of this sect, and their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, deserve, no doubt, the highest encomiums; it must, however, be acknowledged, that the doctrine and worship which they introduced among these barbarians were far from being in all respects conformable to the precepts of the gospel, or to the true spirit and genius of the Christian religion.

Prester John.

II. The prince of that country, whom the Nestorians converted to the Christian faith, assumed, if we may give credit to the vulgar tradition, the name of John after his baptism, to which he added the surname of Presbyter, from a principle of modesty. Hence it was, as some learned men imagine, that the successors of this monarch retained these names until the time of Gengis Kan, who flourished in the fourteenth century, and were each of them called Prester John [b]. But all this has a very fabulous air; at least it is advanced without any solid proof; nay, it appears evident, on the contrary, that the famous Prester John, who made so much noise in the world, did not begin to reign in that part of Asia before the conclusion of the eleventh century. It is, however, certain, beyond all contradiction, that the monarchs of the nation called Karit, which makes a large part of the empire of the Mogul, and is by some denominated a province of the Turks, and by others a tribe of the Tartars, embraced Christianity in this century; and that a considerable part of Tartary, or Asiatic Scythia, lived under the spiritual jurisdiction

[a] Jos. Sim. Assemanni Bibliotheca Oriental. Vatic. tom. iii. part II. p. 482.—Herbelot. Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 256.

[b] See Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic. tom. iii. part II. p. 282.

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of bishops, who were sent among them by the Nestorian pontiff [c].

Rollo first duke of Normandy converted.

III. If we turn our eyes to the western world, we shall find the gospel making its way with more or less rapidity through the most rude and uncivilized nations. The famous arch-pirate Rollo, son of a Norwegian count, being banished from his native land [d], had, in the preceding century, put himself at the head of a resolute band of Normans, and seized upon one of the maritime provinces of France, from whence he infested the whole country round about with perpetual incursions and depredations. In the year 912, this valiant chief embraced, with his whole army, the Christian faith, and that upon the following occasion; Charles the Simple, who wanted both resolution and power to drive this warlike and intrepid invader out of his dominions, was obliged to have recourse to the method of negotiation. He accordingly offered to make over to Rollo a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that the latter would consent to a peace, espouse his daughter Gisela [e], and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted by Rollo without the least hesitation; and his army,

[c] The late learned Mr. B. Theophilus Sigefred Bayer, in his Preface to the Museum Sinicum, p. 145, informed us of his design to give the world an accurate account of the Nestorian churches established in Tartary and China, drawn from some curious ancient records and monuments, that have not been as yet made public. His work was to have been entitled Historia Ecclesiarum Sinicarum, et Septentrionalis Asiæ; but death prevented the execution of this interesting plan, and also of several others, which this great man had formed, and which would have undoubtedly cast a new light upon the history of the Asiatic Christians.

[d] Holbergi Historia Danorum Navalis in Scriptis Societat. Scient. Hafniens. part III. p. 357.

[e] Other writers more politely represent the offer of Gisela as one of the methods that Charles employed to obtain a peace with Rollo.

following the example of their leader, professed a religion of which they were totally ignorant [*f*]. These Norman pirates, as appears from many authentic records, were absolutely without religion of every kind, and therefore were not restrained, by the power of prejudice, from embracing a religion which presented to them the most advantageous prospects. They knew no distinction between interest and duty, and they estimated truth and virtue only by the profits with which they were attended. It was from this Rollo, who received at his baptism the name of Robert, that the famous line of Norman dukes derived its origin; for the province of Bretagne, and a part of Neustria, which Charles the Simple conveyed to his son-in-law by a solemn grant, were, from this time, known by the name of Normandy [*g*], which they derived from their new possessors.

The conversion of the Polish nation.

IV. The Christian religion was introduced into Poland by the zealous efforts of female piety. Dambrowka, daughter of Bolislaus, duke of Bohemia, persuaded, by the force of repeated exhortations, her husband Micislaus, duke of Poland, to abandon paganism, in consequence of which he embraced the gospel, A. D. 695. The account of this agreeable event was no sooner brought to Rome, than the pontiff, John XIII. sent into Poland Ægidius, bishop of Tusculum, attended with a numerous train of ecclesiastics, in order to second the pious efforts of the duke and duchess, who desired with impatience the conversion of their subjects. But the exhortations and endeavours of these devout missionaries, who were unacquainted with the language of the

[*f*] Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 296.—Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 587.

[*g*] It was Neustria properly, and not Bretagne, that received the name of Normandy, from the Normans who chose Rollo for their chief.

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people they came to instruct, would have been entirely without effect, had they not been accompanied with the edicts and penal laws, the promises and threats of Micislaus, which dejected the courage, and conquered the obstinacy, of the reluctant Poles. When, therefore, the fear of punishment, and the hope of reward, had laid the foundations of Christianity in Poland, two national archbishops and seven bishops were consecrated to the ministry, whose zeal and labours were followed with such success, that the whole body of the people abandoned, by degrees, their ancient superstitions, and made public profession of the religion of Jesus [*h*]. It was, indeed, no more than an external profession; for that inward change of affections and principles, which the gospel requires, was far from being an object of attention in this barbarous age.

The Christian religion established in Muscovy.

V. The Christian religion was established in Russia by means every way similar to those that had occasioned its propagation in Poland; for we must not lay any stress upon the proselytes that were made to Christianity among the Russians in the preceding century; since these conversions were neither permanent nor solid, and since it appears evidently, that such of that nation, as, under the reign of Basilius the Macedonian, had embraced the doctrine of the Greek church, relapsed soon after into the superstition of their ancestors. Wlodomir, duke of Russia and Muscovy, married, in the year 961, Anne, sister of Basilius, the second Grecian emperor of that name; and this zealous princess, by her repeated entreaties, and her pious importunity, persuaded at length her reluctant spouse to receive the Chris-

[*h*] Duglossi Historia Polonica, lib. ii. p. 91. lib. iii. p. 95. 239.—Regenvolscii Historia Eccles. Slavon. lib. i. cap. i. p. 8.—Henr. Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ, tom. iii. par. I. p. 41.—Solignac, Hist. de Pologne, tom. i. p. 71.

tian faith, and he was accordingly baptized, A. D. 987, assuming upon that occasion the name of Basilius. The Russians followed spontaneously the example of their prince; we have, at least, no account of any compulsion or violence being employed in their conversion [*i*]; and this is the true date of the entire establishment of Christianity among that people. Wlodomir and his duchess were placed in the highest order of the Russian saints, and are still worshipped at Kiovia, where they lie interred, with the greatest devotion. The Latins, however, paid no such respect to the memory of Wlodomir, whom they represent as absolutely unworthy of saintly honours [*k*].

and in Hungary.

VI. The Hungarians and Avari had received some faint notions of Christianity under the reign of Charlemagne, and in consequence of the measures that had been taken by that zealous prince for the propagation of the gospel. These notions, however, were soon and easily extinguished by various circumstances, which took their rise from the death of Charlemagne: and it was not before the century of which we now write that the Christian religion obtained a fixed settlement among these warlike nations [*l*]. Towards the middle of this century, Bulosudes and Gyvla or Gylas, two Turkish chiefs, whose governments lay upon the banks of the Danube [*m*], made public profession of Christianity, and were baptized at Constantinople. The former apostatized soon after to the religion of his ancestors;

[*i*] See Anton. Pagi Critica in Baron. tom. iv. ad a. 987. p. 55. et ad a. 1015, p. 110. Car. du Fresne, Familiæ Byzantinæ, p. 143. ed. Paris.

[*k*] Ditmarus, Merseb. lib. vii. Caronic. p. 417. tom. i. Scriptor. Brunsvic. Leibnitii.

[*l*] Pauli Debrezeni Historia Eccles. Reformator. in Ungaria, part I. cap. iii. p. 19.

[*m*] The Hungarians and Transylvanians were, at this time, known to the Grecians by the name of Turks.

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while the latter not only persevered stedfastly in his new profession, but also showed the most zealous concern for the conversion of his subjects; who, in consequence of his express order, were instructed in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel by Hierotheus, a learned prelate, by whom he had been accompanied in his journey to Constantinople. Sarolta, the daughter of Gylas, was afterwards given in marriage to Geysa, the chief of the Hungarian nation, whom she persuaded to embrace the divine religion in which she had been educated. The faith, however, of this new-converted prince was feeble and unsteady, and he retained a strong propensity to the superstition which he had been engaged to forsake; but his apostasy was prevented by the pious remonstrances of Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, who came into Hungary towards the conclusion of this century, and by whom also Stephen, the son of Geysa, was baptized with great pomp and solemnity. It was to this young prince that the gospel was principally indebted for its propagation and establishment among the Hungarians, whose entire conversion was the fruit of his zeal for the cause of Christ. For he perfected, what his father and grandfather had only begun; fixed bishops, with large revenues, in various places; erected magnificent temples for divine worship; and by the influence of instructions, threatenings, rewards, and punishments, he brought his subjects, almost without exception, to abandon the wretched superstition of their idolatrous ancestors. These vigorous proceedings, by which Stephen introduced the religion of Jesus among the Hungarians, procured him the most distinguished honours of saintship in succeeding ages [*n*].

[*n*] The Greeks, Germans, Bohemians, and Poles, claim each for themselves the peculiar honour of having been the

VII. The Christian religion was in a very unsettled state among the Danes, under the reign of Gormon; and, notwithstanding the protection it received from his queen, who professed it publicly, was obliged to struggle with many difficulties, and to encounter much opposition. The face of things changed, indeed, after the death of Gormon. His son Harald, surnamed Blaatand, being defeated by Otho the Great, A. D. 949, embraced the gospel, and was baptized, together with his consort and his son Sueno or Swein, by Adaldagus, archbishop of Hamburgh; or, as others allege, by Poppon, a pious ecclesiastic, who attended the emperor in this expedition. It is probable that Harald, educated by his mother Tyra, who was a Christian, was not extremely averse to the religion of Jesus; it appears, however, certain, that his conversion was less the effect of his own choice, than of the irresistible commands of his victorious enemy. For Otho, persuaded that the Danes would never desist from

In Denmark.

founders of the Christian religion in Hungary, and their respective pretensions have introduced not a little obscurity into this matter. The Germans allege, that the Christian religion was brought into Hungary by Gisela, sister to their emperor Henry II., who being given in marriage to Stephen, the king of that nation, persuaded that prince to embrace the gospel. The Bohemians tell us, on the other hand, that it was by the ministry of Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, that Stephen was converted. The Poles affirm, that Geysa, having married a Christian princess of their nation, viz. Adelheid, sister to Micislas, duke of Poland, was induced by her remonstrances and exhortations to make profession of Christianity. In consequence of a careful examination of all these pretensions, we have followed the sentiments and decisions of the Greek writers, after having diligently compared them with the Hungarian historians; and we are encouraged in this by the authority of the learned Gabriel de Juxta Hornad, who, in his Initia Religionis Christianæ inter Hungaros Ecclesiæ orientali adserta, published at Franckfort in 1740, decides this question in favour of the Greeks. All other accounts of the matter are extremely imperfect, and subject to many doubts and difficulties.

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their hostile incursions and rapines, as long as they persevered in the religion of their ancestors, which was so proper to nourish a ferocity of temper, and to animate to military exploits, made it the principal condition of the treaty of peace, which he concluded with Harald, that both he and his subjects should receive the Christian faith [*o*]. Upon the conversion of this prince, Adaldagus and Poppon employed their ministerial labours among the Cimbrians and Danes, in order to engage them to imitate such an illustrious example; and their exhortations were crowned with remarkable success, to which the stupendous miracles performed by Poppon are said to have contributed in a particular manner. These miracles, indeed, were of such a kind, as manifestly shows that they derived their origin from human art, and not from a divine interposition [*p*]. As long as Harald lived, he used every wise and probable method of confirming his subjects in the religion they had embraced. For this purpose he established bishops in several parts of his dominions, enacted excellent laws, abrogated superstitious customs, and imposed severe restraints upon all vicious and immoral practices. But after all these pious efforts, and salutary measures, which promised such fair prospects to the rising church, his son Sueno, or Swein, apostatized from the truth, and, during a certain time, involved the Christians in the deepest calamity

[*o*] Adam. Brem. Hist. lib. ii. cap. ii. iii. p. 16. cap. xv. p. 20. in Lindenbrogii Scriptoribus Rerum Septentrional.—Alb. Kranzii Wandalia, lib. iv. cap. xx.—Ludwigii Reliquiæ Manuscriptor. tom. ix. p. 10.—Pontoppidani Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomatici, tom. i. p. 59.

[*p*] Jo. Adolph. Cupræi Annales Episcopor. Slesvic. cap. xiii. p. 78.—Adam. Bremens. lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 22. cap. xliv. p. 28.—Jo. Stephan. ad Saxonem Grammat. p. 207.—Molleri Introduct. ad Historiam Chersones. Cimbric. part II. cap. iii. sect. 14.

and distress, and treated them with the greatest cruelty and injustice. This persecuting tyrant felt, however, in his turn, the heavy strokes of adversity, which produced a salutary change in his conduct, and happily brought him to a better mind; for being driven from his kingdom, and obliged to seek his safety in a state of exile among the Scots, he embraced anew the religion he had abandoned, and upon his restoration to his dominions, exerted the most ardent and exemplary zeal in the cause of Christianity, which he endeavoured to promote to the utmost of his power [q].

In Norway.

VIII. It was in this century that the first dawn of the gospel arose upon the Norwegians, as we learn from the most authentic records. The conversion of that people was attempted, in the year 933, by their monarch, Hagen Adelsteen, who had been educated among the English, and who employed certain ecclesiastics of that nation to instruct his subjects in the doctrines of Christianity. But his pious efforts were rendered fruitless by the brutal obstinacy with which the Norwegians persevered in their ancient prejudices, and the assiduity and zeal with which his successor Harald Graufeldt pursued the same plan of reformation were also without effect [r]. The succeeding princes, far from being discouraged by these obstacles, persisted firmly in their worthy purpose, and Haco, among others, yielding to the entreaties of Harald, king of Denmark, to whom he was indebted for the Norwegian crown, embraced himself the Christian religion, and recommended it, with the greatest fervour, to his subjects, in an assembly of the people that was held in the

[q] Saxon. Gramm. Histor. Dan. lib. x. p. 186.—Pontoppidan, De Gestis et Vestigiis Danorum extra Daniam, tom. ii. cap. i. sect. 1, 2.

[r] Eric. Pontoppidan, Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomat. tom. i. p. 66.

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year 945 [*s*]. This recommendation, notwithstanding the solemnity and zeal with which it was accompanied, made little impression upon the minds of this fierce and barbarous people; nor were they entirely gained over by the zealous endeavours of Olaus to convert them to Christianity, though the pious diligence of that prince, which procured him the honour of saintship, was not altogether without effect [*t*]. But that which gave the finishing stroke to the conversion of the Norwegians was their subjection to Suenon, or Swein, king of Sweden, who having defeated their monarch Olaus Tryg-gueson, became master of Norway, and obliged its inhabitants to abandon the gods of their ancestors, and to embrace universally the religion of Jesus [*u*]. Among the various

[*s*] Torm. Torfæi Historia Norwegica, tom. ii. p. 183. 214.

[*t*] Torfæus, l. c. p. 457.

☞ [*u*] Dr. Mosheim attributes here to Swein the honour which is due to his predecessor Olaus Tryg-gueson; if it can be esteemed an honour to have promoted a rational and divine religion by compulsion and violence, by fire and sword. Olaus, who had abjured paganism in England, during his youth, in consequence of a warm and pathetic discourse which he had heard from a British priest, returned to Norway with a firm resolution to propagate Christianity throughout his dominions. For this purpose he travelled from one province to another, attended by a chosen band of soldiers, and, sword in hand, performed the functions of missionary and apostle. His ministry, thus enforced, was followed with the desired success throughout all the provinces, except that of Drontheim, which rose in rebellion against him, and attacked Christianity with the same kind of arguments that Olaus employed in establishing it. This opposition occasioned several bloody battles, which ended, however, in the defeat of the rebels, and of the god Thor, their tutelar deity, whose statue Olaus dragged from its place, and burnt publicly in the sight of his worshippers. This event dejected the courage of the inhabitants of Drontheim, who submitted to the religion and laws of their conqueror. And thus, before the reign of Suenon, at least before the defeat of Olaus by that prince, Norway was Christian. See The History of Denmark, lately published in French by Mr. Mallet, Professor in Belles Lettres at Copenhagen, vol. i. p. 52. 53.

doctors that were sent to instruct this barbarous people, the most eminent, both in merit and authority, was Guthebald, an English priest [w]. From Norway, Christianity spread its salutary light through the adjacent countries, and was preached with success in the Orkney islands, which were, at this time, subject to the Norwegian kings, and also in Iceland and Old Groenland; for it is evident, from many circumstances and records of undoubted authority, that the greatest part of the inhabitants of these countries had received the gospel in this century [x].

The zeal of Otho the Great in the cause of Christianity.

IX. In Germany the pious exploits of Otho the Great contributed, in a signal manner, to promote the interest of Christianity, and to fix and establish it upon solid foundations throughout the empire. This truly great prince, whose pious magnanimity clothed him with a lustre infinitely superior to that which he derived from his imperial dignity, was constantly employed in extirpating the remains of the ancient superstitions, and in supporting and confirming the infant church, which in several provinces had not yet arrived to any considerable degree of consistence and vigour. That there might be rulers and pastors to govern the church, and to contribute, both by their doctrine and example, to the reformation and improvement of an unpolished and illiterate people, he established bishops in several places, and ge-

[w] Chron. Danicum à Ludewigio editum in Reliquiis MS. tom. ix. p. 11. 16, 17.

[x] Concerning the conversion of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, see Torm. Torfæi Historia Rerum Orcadens. lib. i. p. 22. and for an account of the Icelanders, the reader may consult Arngrim Jonas' Cynogræa, lib. i. and Arius Multisc. in Schedis Islandiæ; as also Torfæus, his Histor. Norveg. tom. ii. p. 378, 379. 417. and Gabriel Liron's Singularités Historiques et Litteraires, tom. i. p. 138.—The same Torfæus gives a full account of the introduction of Christianity into Groenland, in his Histor. Norveg. tom. ii. p. 374. and also in his Groenlandiæ Antiqua, c. xvii. p. 127.

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nerously erected and endowed the bishoprics of Brandenburgh, Havelberg, Meissen, Magdeburgh, and Naumburg; by which excellent establishments the church was furnished with eminent doctors from various parts, whose instructions were the occasion of raising up new labourers in the gospel harvest, and of thus multiplying the ministers of Christ from time to time. It was also through the munificence of the same prince that many convents were erected for those who, in conformity with the false piety of the times, chose to finish their Christian course in the indolent sanctity of a solitary life; and it was by his express order that schools were established in almost every city for the education of the youth. All this may serve to show us the generosity and zeal of this illustrious emperor, whose merit would have surpassed the highest encomiums, had his prudence and moderation been equal to the fervour of his piety, and the uprightness of his intentions. But the superstition of his empress [*y*], and the deplorable ignorance of the times, deluded this good prince into the notion, that he obliged the Deity in proportion as he loaded the clergy with riches and honours, and that nothing was more proper to draw down upon him the divine protection than the exercise of a boundless liberality to his ministers. In consequence of this idle and extravagant fancy, Otho opened the sources of his opulence, which flowed into the church like an overgrown torrent, so that the bishops, monks, and religious houses wallowed in wealth and abundance. But succeeding ages perceived the unhappy effects of this excessive and ill-judged munificence; when the sacred orders employed this opulence, which they had acquired without either merit or labour,

[*y*] See the life of this empress, whose name was Adelaid, in the Lectiones Antiquæ of Henry Canisius, tom. iii. part I. p. 69.

in gratifying their passions, in waging war against all who opposed their ambitious pretensions, and in purchasing the various pleasures of a luxurious and effeminate life.

The plan of a holy war formed in this century.

X. It was no doubtful mark of the progress and strength of the Christian cause, that the European kings and princes began so early as this century to form the project of a holy war against the Mahometans, who were masters of Palestine. They considered it as an intolerable reproach upon Christians, that the very land in which the divine author of their religion had received his birth, exercised his ministry, and made expiation for the sins of mortals, should be abandoned to the enemies of the Christian name. They also looked upon it as highly just, and suitable to the majesty of the Christian religion, to avenge the calamities and injuries, the persecution and reproach, which its professors had suffered under the Mahometan yoke. The bloody signal was accordingly given towards the conclusion of this century, by the Roman pontiff Sylvester II. and that in the first year of his pontificate. And this signal was an epistle, wrote in the name of the church of Jerusalem, to the church universal throughout the world [*z*], in which the European powers are solemnly exhorted and entreated to succour and deliver the Christians in Palestine. The exhortations of the pontiff were, however, without effect, except upon the inhabitants of Pisa, who are said to have obeyed the papal summons with the utmost alacrity, and to have prepared themselves immediately for a holy campaign [*a*].

[*z*] This is the xxviiith Epistle in the first part of the collection of the letters of Sylvester II. that is published by Du Chesne, in the third volume of his Scriptor. Histor. Franc.

[*a*] See Muratori Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. 400.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

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The progress of the Turks and Saracens.

I. THE Christian religion suffered less in this century from the cruelty of its enemies than from the defection of its friends. Of all the pagan monarchs, under whose government the Christians lived, none behaved to them in a hostile manner, nor tormented them with the execution of compulsive edicts or penal laws, except Gormon and Swein, kings of Denmark. Notwithstanding this, their affairs were far from being either in a fixed or flourishing state; nay, their situation was full of uncertainty and peril, both in the eastern and western provinces. The Saracens in Asia and Africa, amidst the intestine divisions under which they groaned, and the calamities that overwhelmed them from different quarters, were extremely assiduous in propagating every where the doctrines of Mahomet, nor were their efforts unsuccessful. Multitudes of Christians fell into their snares; and the Turks, a valiant and fierce nation, who inhabited the northern coast of the Caspian sea, received their doctrine. The uniformity of religion did not, however, produce a solid union of interests between the Turks and Saracens; on the contrary, their dissensions and quarrels were never more violent than from the time that Mahomet became their common chief in religious matters. The succours of the former were implored by the Persians, whose country was a prey to the ambitious usurpations of the latter, and these succours were granted with the utmost alacrity and readiness. The Turks accordingly fell upon the Sa-

racens in a furious manner, drove them out of the whole extent of the Persian territories, and afterwards, with incredible rapidity and success, invaded, seized, and plundered the other provinces that belonged to that people, whose desolation, in reality, came on like a whirlwind. Thus the powerful empire of the Saracens, which its enemies had for so many years attempted in vain to overturn, fell at last by the hands of its allies and friends. The Turks accomplished what the Greeks and Romans ineffectually aimed at; they struck suddenly that dreadful blow, which ruined at once the affairs of the Saracens in Persia, and then deprived them by degrees of their other dominions; and thus the Ottoman empire, which was still an object of terror to the Christians, was established upon the ruins of the Saracen dominion [*b*].

The western barbarians persecute the Christians.

II. In the western provinces, the Christians had much to suffer from the hatred and cruelty of those who remained under the darkness of paganism. The Normans, during a great part of this century, committed, in several parts of France, the most barbarous hostilities, and involved the Christians, wherever they carried their victorious arms, in numberless calamities. The Samaritans, Sclavonians, Bohemians, and others, who had either conceived an aversion for the gospel, or were sunk in a stupid ignorance of its intrinsic excellence and its immortal blessings, not only endeavoured to extirpate Christianity out of their own territories by the most barbarous efforts of cruelty and violence, but infested the adjacent countries, where it was professed, with fire and sword, and left, wherever they went, the most

[*b*] For a more ample account of these revolutions, see the Annales Turcici of Leunclavius; as also Georgii Elmacini Historia Saracenica, p. 190. 203. 210.

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dreadful marks of their unrelenting fury. The Danes, moreover, did not cease to molest the Christians, until they were subdued by Otho the Great, and thus, from being the enemies, became the friends of the Christian cause. The Hungarians also contributed their part to the sufferings of the church, by their incursions into several parts of Germany, which they turned into scenes of desolation and misery; while the fierce Arabs, by their tyranny in Spain, and their depredations in Italy and the neighbouring islands, spread calamity and oppression all around them, of which, no doubt, the Christians established in these parts had the heaviest portion.

The effects of these calamities.

III. Whoever considers the endless vexations, persecutions, and calamities, which the Christians suffered from the nations that continued in their ancient superstitions, will easily perceive the reason of that fervent and inextinguishable zeal, which Christian princes discovered for the conversion of these nations, whose impetuous and savage fury they experienced from time to time. A principle of self-preservation, and a prudent regard to their own safety, as well as a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, engaged them to put in practice every method that might open the eyes of their barbarous adversaries, from a rational and well grounded hope that the precepts of Christianity would mitigate, by degrees, the ferocity of these nations, and soften their rugged and intractable tempers. Hence it was that Christian kings and emperors left no means unemployed to draw these infidels within the pale of the church. For this purpose, they proposed to their chiefs alliances of marriage, offered them certain districts and territories, auxiliary troops to maintain them against their enemies, upon condition that they would

abandon the superstition of their ancestors, which was so proper to nourish their ferocity, and to increase their passion for blood and carnage. These offers were attended with the desired success, as they induced the infidel chiefs not only to lend an ear themselves to the instructions and exhortations of the Christian missionaries, but also to oblige their subjects and armies to follow their examples in this respect.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy during this Century.

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The state of letters among the Greeks.

I. THE deplorable ignorance of this barbarous age, in which the drooping arts were totally neglected, and the sciences seemed to be upon the point of expiring for want of encouragement, is unanimously confessed and lamented by all the writers who have transmitted to us any accounts of this period of time. Nor, indeed, will this fatal revolution, in the republic of letters, appear astonishing to such as consider, on the one hand, the terrible vicissitudes, tumults, and wars that turned all things into confusion both in the eastern and western world, and on the other, the ignominious stupidity and dissoluteness of those sacred orders who had been appointed as the guardians of truth and learning. Leo, surnamed the Philosopher, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks towards the commencement of this century, was himself an eminent lover of learning, and an auspicious and zealous protector of such as distinguished themselves in the culture of the sciences [*c*]. This noble and generous disposition appeared with still a greater lustre in his son Constantine Porphyrogeneta, who not only

[*c*] See Jo. Alb. Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. lib. v. part II. cap. v. p. 363.

discovered the greatest ardour for the revival of the arts and sciences in Greece [*d*], but also employed the most effectual measures for the accomplishment of this excellent purpose. It was with this view that he spared no expense in drawing to his court, and supporting in his dominions, a variety of learned men, each of whom excelled in some of the different branches of literature, and in causing the most diligent search to be made after the writings of the ancients. With this view, also, he became himself an author [*e*], and thus animated by his example, as well as by his protection, men of genius and abilities to enrich the sciences with their learned productions. He employed, moreover, a considerable number of able pens, in making valuable extracts from the commentaries and other compositions of the ancients; which extracts were preserved in certain places for the benefit and satisfaction of the curious; and thus, by various exertions of liberality and zeal, this learned prince restored the arts and sciences to a certain degree of life and vigour [*f*]. But few of the Greeks followed this great and illustrious example; nor was there any among the succeeding

[*d*] Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. lib. v. part II. cap. v. p. 486.

[*e*] We have yet remaining of Constantine Porphyrogeneta, son of Leo the philosopher, the following productions:

The Life of the Emperor Basilius.

A Treatise upon the Art of Governing, in which he investigates the origin of several nations, treats of their power, their progress, their revolutions, and their decline, and gives a series of their princes and rulers.

A Discourse concerning the manner of forming a Land Army and Naval Force in Order of Battle.

Two Books concerning the Eastern and Western Provinces. Which may be considered as an account of the state of the empire in the time of this prince.

[*f*] All this appears evident from the accounts left upon record by Zonaras, in his Annales, tom. iii. p. 155. edit. Paris.

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emperors who equalled these two excellent princes in zeal for the advancement of learning, or in lending, by their protection and encouragement, an auspicious hand to raise out of obscurity and dejection neglected and depressed genius. But what is still more remarkable, Constantine Porphyrogeneta, whom we have now been representing as the restorer of letters, and whom the Greeks unanimously admire in this character, is supposed by some to have done considerable prejudice to the cause of learning by the very means he employed to promote its advancement. For by employing learned men to extract from the writers of antiquity what they thought might contribute to the improvement of the various arts and sciences, he gave too much occasion to neglect the sources, and flattered the indolence of the effeminate Greeks, who confined their studies to these extracts, and neglected, in effect, the perusal of the writers from whom they were drawn. And hence it unfortunately happened, that many of the most celebrated authors of antiquity were lost, at this time, through the sloth and negligence of the Greeks.

Few eminent writers among the Greeks.

II. This method, as the event manifestly showed, was really detrimental to the progress of true learning and genius. And accordingly we find among the Greek writers of this century but a small number who acquired a distinguished and shining reputation in the republic of letters; so that the fair and engaging prospects which seemed to arise in the cause of learning from the munificence and zeal of its imperial patrons, vanished in a short time; and though the seeds of science were richly sown, the natural expectations of an abundant harvest were unhappily disappointed. Nor did the cause of philosophy succeed better than that of literature. Philosophers indeed there were; and, among them, some that were not

destitute of genius and abilities; but none who rendered their names immortal by productions that were worthy of being transmitted to posterity: a certain number of rhetoricians and grammarians: a few poets who were above contempt; and several historians, who, without deserving the highest encomiums, were not, however, totally void of merit: such were the members which composed at this time the republic of letters in Greece, whose inhabitants seemed to take pleasure in those kinds of literature alone, in which industry, imagination, and memory are concerned.

The state of learning among the Saracens.

III. Egypt, though at this time it groaned under a heavy and exasperating yoke of oppression and bondage, produced writers, who in genius and learning were no wise inferior to the most eminent of the Grecian literati. Of the many examples we might mention to prove the truth of this assertion, we shall confine ourselves to that of Eutychius, bishop of Alexandria, who cultivated the sciences of physic and theology with the greatest success, and cast a new light upon them both by his excellent writings. The Arabians, during this whole century, preserved that noble passion for the arts and sciences, which had been kindled among them in the preceding age; and hence they abounded with physicians, mathematicians, and philosophers, whose names and characters, together with an account of their respective abilities and talents, are given by Leo Africanus and other literary historians.

In the western provinces.

IV. The Latins present to us a spectacle of a very different kind. They were almost without exception sunk in the most brutish and barbarous ignorance; so that, according to the unanimous accounts of the most credible writers, nothing could be more melancholy and deplorable than the darkness that reigned in the western world during this century, which, with respect to learn-

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ing and philosophy at least, may be called the Iron Age of the Latins [*g*]. Some learned men of modern times have, we confess, ventured to call this in question: but their doubts are certainly without foundation, and the matter of fact is too firmly established by unquestionable authorities to lose any part of its credit in consequence of the objections they allege against it [*h*]. It is true, there were public schools founded in most of the European provinces, some of which were erected in the monasteries, and the rest in those cities where the bishops resided. It is also true, that through this dismal night of ignorance there shone forth from time to time, and more especially towards the conclusion of this century, some geniuses of a superior order, who eyed with ardour the paths of science, and cast some rays of

[*g*] The testimonies that prove the ignorance which prevailed in the tenth century are collected by Du Boulay, in his Historia Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 288; and also by Lud. Ant. Muratori, in his Antiquitat. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 831. et tom. ii. p. 141, &c.

[*h*] The famous Leibnitz, in his Præfatio ad Codicem Juris Nat. et Gentium Diplomat. affirms, that there were more knowledge and learning in the tenth century than in the succeeding ages, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But this is washing the Ethiopian; it is also an extravagant assertion, and savours much of paradox. We shall be better directed in our notions of this matter by Mabillon, in his Præfatio ad Actor. SS. Ordin. Bened. Quint. Sæc. p. 2. by the authors of the Histoire Litteraire de la France, and by Le Beuf's Dissertat. de Statu Litterarum in Francia, a Carolo M. ad Regem Robert. who all agree in acknowledging the gross ignorance of this century, though they would engage us to believe that its barbarism and darkness were not so hideous as they are commonly represented. There are, indeed, several considerations that render the reasons and testimonies even of these writers not a little defective; but we nevertheless agree with them so far, as to grant that all learning and knowledge were not absolutely extinguished in Europe at this time, and that, in the records of this century, we shall find a few chosen spirits, who pierced through the cloud of ignorance that covered the multitude.

light upon the darkness of a barbarous age. But they were very few in number, and their extreme rarity is a sufficient proof of the infelicity of the times in which they appeared. In the seminaries of learning, such as they were, the seven liberal sciences were taught in the most unskilful and miserable manner, and that by the monks, who esteemed the arts and sciences no further than as they were subservient to the interests of religion, or, to speak more properly, to the views of superstition.

Monkish learning.

V. They who were the most learned and judicious among the monastic orders, and who were desirous of employing usefully a part of their leisure, applied themselves to the composition of annals and histories, which savoured of the ignorance and barbarism of the times. Such were Abo, Luitprand, Wittekind, Fulcuin, Johannes Capuanus, Ratherius, Flodoard, Notker, Ethelbert, and others, who, though very different from each other in their respective degrees of merit, were all in general ignorant of the true nature and rules of historical composition. Several of the poets of this age gave evident marks of true genius, but they were strangers to the poetic art, which was not indeed necessary to satisfy a people utterly destitute of elegance and taste. The grammarians and rhetoricians of these unhappy times are scarcely worthy of mention; their method of instructing was full of absurdities, and their rules trivial, and for the most part, injudicious. The same judgment may be formed in general of the geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, which were more or less taught in the public schools, and of which a more particular account would be uninstructing and insipid.

The state of philosophy.

VI. The philosophy of the Latins extended no farther than the single science of logic or dialectics, which they looked upon as the sum and substance

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of all human wisdom. But this logic, which was so highly admired, was drawn without the least perspicuity or method from a book of Categories, which some have unjustly attributed to Augustin, and others to Porphyry. It is true, indeed, that the Timæus of Plato, the Topica of Cicero and Aristotle, and the book of the latter, De Interpretatione, with other compositions of the Greeks and Latins, were in the hands of several of the doctors of this century, as we learn from credible accounts; but the same accounts inform us, that the true sense of these excellent authors was understood by almost none of those that perused them daily [*i*]. It will appear, no doubt, surprising, that in such an ignorant age such a subtle question as that concerning universal ideas should ever have been thought of; true however it is, that the famous controversy, Whether universal ideas belonged to the class of objects, or of mere names; a controversy which perplexed and bewildered the Latin doctors in succeeding times, and gave rise to the two opposite sects of the Nominalists and Realists; was started for the first time in this century. Accordingly we find in several passages of the writers of this period, the seeds and beginnings of this tedious and intricate dispute [*k*].

[*i*] Gunzo, Epistola, ad Monachos Augienses, in Martene Collect. Ampliss. Monumentor. Veter. tom. iii. p. 304.

[*k*] This appears evident from the following remarkable passage, which the reader will find at the 304th page of the work cited in the preceding note, and in which the learned Gunzo expresses himself in the following manner: Aristoteles, genus, speciem, differentiam, proprium et accidens subsistere denegavit, quæ Platoni subsistentia persuasit. Aristoteli an Platoni magis credendum putatis? Magna est utriusque auctoritas, quatenus vix audeat quis alterum alteri dignitate præferre. Here we see plainly the seeds of discord sown, and the foundation laid for that knotty dispute which puzzled the metaphysical brains of the Latin doctors in after-times.

The restoration of letters in Europe by Sylvester II.

VII. The drooping sciences found an eminent and illustrious patron, towards the conclusion of this century, in the learned Gerbert, a native of France, who, upon his elevation to the pontificate, assumed the title of Sylvester II. The genius of this famous pontiff was extensive and sublime, embracing all the different branches of literature; but its more peculiar bent was turned towards mathematical studies. Mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and every other kind of knowledge that had the least affinity to these important sciences, were cultivated by this restorer of learning with the most ardent zeal, and not without success, as his writings abundantly testify; nor did he stop here; but employed every method that was proper to encourage and animate others to the culture of the liberal arts and sciences. The effects of this noble zeal were visible in Germany, France, and Italy, both in this and in the following century; as by the writings, example, and encouraging exhortations of Gerbert, many were excited to the study of physic, mathematics, and philosophy, and in general to the pursuit of science in all its various branches. If, indeed, we compare this learned pontiff with the mathematicians of modern times, his merit, in that point of view, will almost totally disappear under such a disadvantageous comparison; for his geometry, though it be easy and perspicuous, is but elementary and superficial [*l*]. Yet such as it was, it was marvellous in an age of barbarism and darkness, and surpassed the comprehension of those pigmy philosophers, whose eyes, under the auspicious direction of Gerbert,

Gunzo was not adventurous enough to attempt a solution of this intricate question, which he leaves undecided; others were less modest, without being more successful.

[*l*] This geometry was published by B. Pexius, in his Thesaurus Anecdotorum, tom. iii. part II. p. 7.

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were but just beginning to open upon the light. Hence it was, that the geometrical figures, described by this mathematical pontiff, were regarded by the monks as magical operations, and the pontiff himself was treated as a magician and a disciple of Satan [*m*].

Who derived his knowledge and erudition from the Arabians.

VIII. It was not, however, to the fecundity of his genius alone, that Gerbert was indebted for the knowledge with which he now began to enlighten the European provinces; he had derived a part of his erudition, particularly in physic, mathematics, and philosophy, from the writings and instructions of the Arabians who were settled in Spain. Thither he had repaired in pursuit of knowledge, and had spent some time in the seminaries of learning at Cordua and Seville, with a view to hear the Arabian doctors [*n*]; and it was perhaps, by his example, that the Europeans were directed and engaged to have recourse to this source of instruction in after-times. For it is undeniably certain, that from the time of Gerbert, such of the Europeans as were ambitious of making any considerable progress in physic, arithmetic, geometry, or philosophy, entertained the most eager and impatient desire of receiving instruction either from the academical lessons, or from the writings of the Arabian philosophers, who had founded schools in several parts of Spain and Italy. Hence it was, that the most celebrated productions of these doctors were translated into Latin, their tenets and systems adopted with zeal in the European schools, and that numbers went over to Spain and Italy to receive instruction from the mouths of these famous

[*m*] See Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. vi. p. 558.—Du Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 314. 319.—Naude, Apologie pour les Grands Hommes faussement accusés de la Magie, chap. xix. sect. iv.

[*n*] See Du Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 314.

teachers, which were supposed to utter nothing but the deepest mysteries of wisdom and knowledge. However excessive this veneration for the Arabian doctors may have been, it must be owned, nevertheless, that all the knowledge, whether of physic, astronomy, philosophy, or mathematics, which flourished in Europe from the tenth century, was originally derived from them; and that the Spanish Saracens, in a more particular manner, may be looked upon as the fathers of European philosophy.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government during this Century.

The corruption of the clergy.

I. To those who consider the primitive dignity and the solemn nature of the ministerial character, the corruptions of the clergy must appear deplorable beyond all expression. These corruptions were mounted to the most enormous height in that dismal period of the church which we have now before us. Both in the eastern and western provinces, the clergy were, for the most part, composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid, ignorant more especially in religious matters, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was, according to the most credible accounts, principally owing to the pretended chiefs and rulers of the universal church, who indulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions without reluctance or remorse, who confounded,

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in short, all difference between just and unjust, to satisfy their impious ambition, and whose spiritual empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence, as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants, who have been the scourges of mankind. We may form some notion of the Grecian patriarchs from the single example of Theophylact, who, according to the testimonies of the most respectable writers, made the most impious traffic of ecclesiastical promotions, and expressed no sort of care about any thing but his dogs and horses [*o*]. Degenerate, however, and licentious as these patriarchs might be, they were, generally speaking, less profligate and indecent than the Roman pontiffs.

The history of the Roman pontiffs.

II. The history of the Roman pontiffs that lived in this century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous, and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess. The source of these disorders must be sought for principally in the calamities that fell upon the greatest part of Europe, and that afflicted Italy in a particular manner, after the extinction of the race of Charlemagne. Upon the death of the pontiff Benedict IV. which happened in the year 903, Leo V. was raised to the pontificate, which

☞ [*o*] This exemplary prelate, who sold every ecclesiastical benefice as soon as it became vacant, had in his stable above 2000 hunting horses, which he fed with pig-nuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in the most exquisite wines, to all which he added the richest perfumes. One Holy Thursday, as he was celebrating high-mass, his groom brought him the joyful news that one of his favourite mares had foaled; upon which he threw down the Liturgy, left the church, and ran in raptures to the stable, where having expressed his joy at that grand event, he returned to the altar to finish the divine service, which he had left interrupted during his absence. See Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiast. livr. lv. p. 97. edit. Bruxelle.

he enjoyed no longer than forty days, being dethroned by Christopher, and cast into prison. Christopher, in his turn, was deprived of the pontifical dignity the year following by Sergius III. a Roman presbyter, seconded by the protection and influence of Adalbert, a most powerful Tuscan prince, who had a supreme and unlimited direction in all the affairs that were transacted at Rome. Anastasius III. and Lando, who, upon the death of Sergius, in the year 911, were raised successively to the papal dignity, enjoyed it but for a short time, and did nothing that could contribute to render their names illustrious.

John X. created Roman pontiff.

III. After the death of Lando, which happened in the year 914, Alberic [*p*], marquis, or count of Tuscany, whose opulence was prodigious, and whose authority in Rome was despotic and unlimited, obtained the pontificate for John X. archbishop of Ravenna, in compliance with the solicitation of Theodora, his mother-in-law, whose lewdness was the principle that interested her in this promotion [*q*]. This infamous election will not surprise such as know that the laws of Rome were at this time absolutely silent; that the dictates of justice and equity were overpowered and suspended; and that all things were carried on in that great city by interest or corruption,

☞ [*p*] It was Albert or Adalbert, and not Alberic, who was the son-in-law of the elder Theodora, of whom Dr. Mosheim here speaks. Alberic was grandson to this Theodora, by her daughter Marozia, who was married to Albert. See Spanheim, Eccl. His. Secul. x. p. 1432.—Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livre liv. p. 571. edit. Bruxelle.——This latter historian is of opinion, that it was the younger Theodora, the sister of Marozia, who, from an amorous principle, raised John X. to the pontificate.

☞ [*q*] Theodora, mistress of Rome, had John X. raised to the pontificate, that she might continue that licentious commerce in which she had lived with that carnal ecclesiastic for many years past. See Fleury, and other writers, &c.

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by violence or fraud. John X. though in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity and lewdness in the papal chair, acquired a certain degree of reputation by his glorious campaign against the Saracens, whom he drove from the settlement they had made upon the banks of the Garigliano [r]. He did not, however, enjoy his glory long; the enmity of Marozia, daughter of Theodora, and wife of Alberic, proved fatal to him. For this bloody-minded woman having espoused Wido, or Guy, marquis of Tuscany, after the death of her first consort, engaged him to seize the wanton pontiff, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. This licentious and unlucky pontiff was succeeded by Leo VI. who sat but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was filled after him by Stephen VII. The death of this latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity John XI. who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, Sergius III. whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman gave an infallible guide to the Romish church [s].

[r] In the original we have Montem Garilianum, which is, undoubtedly, a mistake, as the Garigliano is a river in the kingdom of Naples, and not a mountain.

[s] The character and conduct of Marozia are acknowledged to have been most infamous by the unanimous testimony both of ancient and modern historians, who affirm, with one voice, that John XI. was the fruit of her carnal commerce with Sergius III. Eccard, alone, in his Origines Guelphicæ, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 131. has ventured to clear her from this reproach, and to assert, that Sergius, before his elevation to the pontificate, was her lawful and first husband. The attempt, however, is highly extravagant, if not impudent, to pretend to acquit, without the least testimony or proof of her innocence, a woman who is known to have been entirely destitute of every principle of virtue.

IV. John XI. who was placed at the head of the church by the credit and influence of his mother, was pulled down from this summit of spiritual grandeur A. D. 933, by Alberic his half-brother, who had conceived the utmost aversion against him. His mother Marozia had, after the death of Wido, entered anew into the bonds of matrimony with Hugo, king of Italy, who having offended his step-son Alberic, felt severely the weight of his resentment, which vented its fury upon the whole family; for Alberic drove out of Rome not only Hugo, but also Marozia and her son the pontiff, and confined them in prison, where the latter ended his days in the year 936. The four pontiffs, who, in their turns, succeeded John XI. and filled the papal chair until the year 956, were Leo VII. Stephen VIII. Marinus II. and Agapet, whose characters were much better than that of their predecessor, and whose government, at least, was not attended with those tumults and revolutions that had so often shook the pontifical throne, and banished from Rome the inestimable blessings of peace and concord. Upon the death of Agapet, which happened in the year 956, Alberic II. who to the dignity of Roman consul joined a degree of authority and opulence which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son Octavian, who was yet in the early bloom of youth, and destitute, besides, of every quality that was requisite in order to discharge the duties of that high and important office. This unworthy pontiff assumed the name of John XII. and thus introduced the custom, that has since been adopted by all his successors in the see of Rome, of changing each their usual name for another upon their accession to the pontificate.

John XI. and XII.

V. The fate of John XII. was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of Berenger II. king

The fate of John XII.

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of Italy, he sent ambassadors, in the year 960, to Otho the Great, entreating him to march into Italy at the head of a powerful army, to deliver the church and the people from the tyranny under which they groaned. To these entreaties the perplexed pontiff added a solemn promise, that, if the German monarch came to his assistance, he would array him with the purple and the other ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him emperor of the Romans. Otho received this embassy with pleasure, marched into Italy at the head of a large body of troops, and was accordingly saluted by John with the title of emperor of the Romans. The pontiff, however, soon perceiving that he had acted with too much precipitation, repented of the step he had taken; and, though he had sworn allegiance to the emperor as his lawful sovereign, and that in the most solemn manner, yet he broke his oath, and joined with Adalbert, the son of Berenger, against Otho. This revolt was not left unpunished. The emperor returned to Rome in the year 964; called a council, before which he accused and convicted the pontiff of many crimes; and after having degraded him, in the most ignominious manner, from his high office, he appointed Leo VIII. to fill his place. Upon Otho's departure from Rome, John returned to that city, and in a council, which he assembled in the year 964, condemned the pontiff whom the emperor had elected, and soon after died in a miserable and violent manner. After his death the Romans chose Benedict V. bishop of Rome, in opposition to Leo: but the emperor annulled this election, restored Leo to the papal chair, and carried Benedict to Hamburgh, where he died in exile [*t*].

[*t*] In the account I have here given of the pontiffs of this century, I have consulted the sources, which are to be found for the most part, in Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italic. as also

VI. The pontiffs who governed the see of Rome from Leo VIII. who died A. D. 965, to Gerbert or Sylvester II. who was raised to the pontificate towards the conclusion of this century, were more happy in their administration, as well as more decent in their conduct, than their infamous predecessors; yet none of them so exemplary as to deserve the applause that is due to eminent virtue. John XIII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 965, by the authority of Otho the Great, was driven out of Rome in the beginning of his administration; but, the year following, upon the emperor's return to Italy, he was restored to his high dignity, in the calm possession of which he ended his days A. D. 972. His successor Benedict VI. was not so happy; cast into prison by Crescentius, son of the famous Theodora, in consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and government, he was loaded with all sorts of ignominy, and was strangled in the year 974, in the apartment where he lay confined. Unfortunately for him, Otho the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in the year 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in Rome by salutary laws executed with impartiality and vigour. The face of things was entirely

John XIII. Benedict VII.

Baronius, Peter de Marca, Sigonius De Regno Italiæ, with the learned annotations of Ant. Saxius, Muratori, in his Annales Italiæ, Pagi, and other writers, all of whom have had access to the sources, and to several ancient manuscripts, which have not as yet been published. The narrations I have here given are most certainly true upon the whole. It must, however, be confessed, that many parts of the papal history lie yet in great obscurity, and stand much in need of farther illustration; nor will I deny that a spirit of partiality has been extremely detrimental to the history of the pontiffs, by corrupting it, and rendering it uncertain in a multitude of places.

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changed by that event; licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations resumed their former sway, and diffused their horrors through that miserable city. After the death of Benedict, the papal chair was filled by Franco, who assumed the name of Boniface VII. but enjoyed his dignity only for a short time; for scarcely a month had passed after his promotion, when he was deposed from his office, expelled the city, and succeeded by Donus II. [*u*], who is known by no other circumstance than his name. Upon his death, which happened in the year 975, Benedict VII. was created pontiff; and, during the space of nine years, ruled the church without much opposition, and ended his days in peace. This peculiar happiness was, without doubt, principally owing to the opulence and credit of the family to which he belonged; for he was nearly related to the famous Alberic, whose power, or rather despotism, had been unlimited in Rome.

John XIV. and XV.

VII. His successor John XIV. who, from the bishopric of Pavia, was raised to the pontificate, derived no support from his birth, which was obscure, nor did he continue to enjoy the protection of Otho III. to whom he owed his promotion. Hence the calamities that fell upon him with such fury, and the misery that concluded his transitory grandeur; for Boniface VII. who had usurped the papal throne in the year 974, and in a little time after had been banished Rome, returned from Constantinople, whither he had fled for refuge, and, seizing the unhappy pontiff, had him thrown into prison, and afterwards put to death. Thus Boniface resumed the government of the church; but his reign was also transitory,

☞ [*u*] Some writers place Donus II. before Benedict VI. See the Tabulæ Synopticæ Hist. Eccles. of the learned Pfaff.

for he died about six months after his restoration [*w*]. He was succeeded by John XV. whom some writers call John XVI. because, as they allege, there was another John, who ruled the church during the space of four months, and whom they consequently call John XV. [*x*]. Leaving it to the reader's choice to call that John of whom we speak, the XV. or the XVI. of that name, we shall only observe that he possessed the papal dignity from the year 985 to 996; that his administration was as happy as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit; and that the tranquillity he enjoyed was not so much owing to his wisdom and prudence, as to his being a Roman by birth, and to his descent from noble and illustrious ancestors. It is certain, at least, that his successor Gregory V. who was a German, and who was elected pontiff by the order of Otho III. A. D. 996, met with a quite different treatment; for Crescens, the Roman consul, drove him out of the city, and conferred his dignity upon John XVI. formerly known by the name of Philagathus. This revolution was not, however, permanent in its effects, for Otho III. alarmed by these disturbances at Rome, marched into Italy, A. D. 998, at the head of a powerful army; and casting into prison the new pontiff, whom the soldiers, in the first moment of their fury, had maimed and abused in a most barbarous manner, he reinstated Gregory in his former honours, and placed him anew at the head of the church. It was upon the death of this latter pon-

☞ [*w*] Fleury says eleven months.

☞ [*x*] Among these writers is the learned Pfaff, in his Tabulæ Synopticæ, &c. But the Roman catholic writers, whom Dr. Mosheim follows with good reason, do not count among the number of the pontiffs that John who governed the church of Rome during the space of four months after the death of Boniface VII. because he was never duly invested, by consecration, with the papal dignity.

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tiff, which happened soon after his restoration, that the same emperor raised to the papal dignity his preceptor and friend, the famous and learned Gerbert, or Sylvester II. whose promotion was attended with the universal approbation of the Roman people [*y*].

The influence and authority of the pontiffs increase daily.

VIII. Amidst these frequent commotions, and even amidst the repeated enormities and flagitious crimes of those who gave themselves out for Christ's vicegerents upon earth, the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs increased imperceptibly from day to day; such were the effects of that ignorance and superstition that reigned without control in these miserable times. Otho the Great had indeed published a solemn edict, prohibiting the election of any pontiff without the previous knowledge and consent of the emperor; which edict, as all writers unanimously agree, remained in force from the time of its publication to the conclusion of this century. It is also to be observed, that the same emperor, as likewise his son and grandson, who succeeded him in the empire, maintained, without interruption, their right of supremacy over the city of Rome, its territory, and its pontiff, as may be demonstrably proved from a multitude of examples. It is, moreover, equally certain, that the German, French, and Italian bishops, who were not ignorant of the nature of their privileges, and the extent of their jurisdiction, were, during this whole century, perpetually upon their guard against every attempt the Roman pontiff might make to

[*y*] The history of the Roman pontiffs of this period is not only extremely barren of interesting events, but also obscure, and uncertain in many respects. In the accounts I have here given of them, I have followed principally Lud. Ant. Muratori's Annales Italiæ, and the Conatus Chronologico-Historicus de Romanis Pontificibus, which the learned Papebrochius has prefixed to his Acta Sanctorum, Mensis Maii.

assume to himself alone a legislative authority in the church. But, notwithstanding all this, the bishops of Rome found means of augmenting their influence, and partly by open violence, partly by secret and fraudulent stratagems, encroached, not only upon the privileges of the bishops, but also upon the jurisdiction and rights of kings and emperors [z]. Their ambitious attempts were seconded and justified by the scandalous adulation of certain mercenary prelates, who exalted the dignity and prerogatives of, what they called, the apostolic see, in the most pompous and extravagant terms. Several learned writers have observed, that in this century certain bishops maintained publicly that the Roman pontiffs were not only bishops of Rome, but of the whole world, an assertion which hitherto none had ventured to make [a]; and that even among the French clergy it had been affirmed by some, that the authority of the Bishops, though divine in its origin, was conveyed to them by St. Peter, the prince of the apostles [b].

The bishops and abbots enlarge also their jurisdiction and prerogatives.

IX. The adventurous ambition of the bishops of Rome, who left no means unemployed to extend their jurisdiction, exhibited an example which the inferior prelates followed with the most zealous and indefatigable emulation. Several bishops and abbots had begun, even from the time that the descendants of Charlemagne sat on the imperial throne, to enlarge their prerogatives, and had actually obtained, for their tenants and their possessions, an immunity from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, as also from taxes and imposts of all kinds. But in this century they carried their pretensions still

[z] Several examples of these usurpations may be found in the Histoire du Droit Eccles. François, tom. i. p. 217. edit. in 8vo.

[a] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. vi. p. 98.

[b] Ibid. p. 186.

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farther; aimed at the civil jurisdiction over the cities and territories in which they exercised a spiritual dominion, and aspired after nothing less than the honours and authority of dukes, marquises, and counts of the empire. Among the principal circumstances that animated their zeal in the pursuit of these dignities, we may reckon the perpetual and bitter contests concerning jurisdiction and other matters, that reigned between the dukes and counts, who were governors of cities, and the bishops and abbots who were their ghostly rulers. The latter, therefore, seizing the favourable opportunity that was offered them by the superstition of the times, used every method that might be effectual to obtain that high rank, that hitherto stood in the way of their ambition. And the emperors and kings to whom they addressed their presumptuous requests generally granted them, either from a desire of pacifying the contentions and quarrels that arose between civil and military magistrates, or from a devout reverence for the sacred order, or with a view to augment their own authority, and to confirm their dominion by the good services of the bishops, whose influence was very great upon the minds of the people. Such were the different motives that engaged princes to enlarge the authority and jurisdiction of the clergy; and hence we see from this century downwards so many bishops and abbots invested with characters, employments, and titles so foreign to their spiritual offices and functions, and clothed with the honours of dukes, marquises, counts, and viscounts [c].

[c] The learned Louis Thomassin, in his Disciplina Ecclesiæ Veteri et Novæ, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 89. has collected a multitude of examples to prove that the titles and prerogatives of dukes and counts were conferred

X. Besides the reproach of the grossest ignorance, which the Latin clergy in this century so justly deserved [*d*], they were also chargeable, in a very heinous degree, with two other odious and enormous vices, even concubinage and simony, which the greatest part of the writers of these unhappy times acknowledge and deplore. As to the first of these vices, it was practised too openly to admit of any doubt. The priests, and what is still more surprising, even the sanctimonious monks, fell victims to the triumphant charms of the sex, and to the imperious dominion of their carnal lusts; and, entering into the bonds of wedlock or concubinage, squandered away in a most luxurious manner, with their wives or mistresses, the revenues of the church [*e*]. The other vice abovementioned reigned with an equal degree of impudence and licentiousness. The election of bishops and abbots was no longer made according to the laws of the church; but kings and princes, or

Simony and concubinage the principal vices of the clergy.

upon certain prelates so early as the ninth century; nay, some bishops trace even to the eighth century the rise and first beginnings of that princely dominion which they now enjoy. But notwithstanding all this, if I be not entirely and grossly mistaken, there cannot be produced any evident and indisputable example of this princely dominion, previous to the tenth century.

[*d*] Ratherius, speaking of the clergy of Verona in his Itinerarium, which is published in the Spicilegium of Dacherius, tom. i. p. 381. says, that he found many among them who could not even repeat the Apostles' Creed. His words are, Sciscitatus de fide illorum, inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere Symbolum, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum.

[*e*] That this custom was introduced towards the commencement of this century is manifest, from the testimony of Ordericus Vitalis and other writers, and also from a letter of Mantio, bishop of Chalons in Champagne, which is published by Mabillon, in his Analecta Veterum, p. 429. edit. nov. As to the charge brought against the Italian monks of their spending the treasures of the church upon their wives or mistresses, see Hugo, De Monasterii Farfensis Destructione, which is published in Muratori's Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. vi. p. 278.

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their ministers and favourites, either conferred these ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them, without shame, to the highest bidder [*f*]. Hence it happened, that the most stupid and flagitious wretches were frequently advanced to the most important stations in the church; and that, upon several occasions, even soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and such like persons, were, by a strange metamorphosis, converted into bishops and abbots. Gregory VII. endeavoured, in the following century, to put a stop to these two growing evils.

The monkish discipline declines to nothing.

XI. While the monastic orders, among the Greeks and Orientals, maintained still an external appearance of religion and decency, the Latin monks, towards the commencement of this century, had so entirely lost sight of all subordination and discipline, that the greatest part of them knew not even by name the rule of St. Benedict, which they were obliged to observe. A noble Frank, whose name was Odo, a man as learned and pious as the ignorance and superstition of the times would permit, endeavoured to remedy this disorder; nor were his attempts totally unsuccessful. This zealous ecclesiastic being created, in the year 927, abbot of Clugni, in the province of Burgundy, upon the death of Berno, not only obliged the monks to live in a rigorous observance of their rules, but also added to their discipline a new set of rites and ceremonies, which, notwithstanding the air of sanctity that attended them, were, in reality, insignificant and trifling, and yet, at the same time,

[*f*] Many infamous and striking examples and proofs of this simoniacal practice may be found in the work entitled Gallia Christiana, tom. i. p. 23. 37. tom. ii. p. 173. 179. Add to this Abbouis Apologeticum, which is published at the end of the Codex Canon. Pithoei, p. 398. as also Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. v.

severe and burthensome [*g*]. This new rule of discipline covered its author with glory, and, in a short time, was adopted in all the European convents: for the greatest part of the ancient monasteries, which had been founded in France, Germany, Italy, Britain, and Spain, received the rule of the monks of Clugni, to which also the convents, newly established, were subjected by their founders. And thus it was, that the order of Clugni arrived to that high degree of eminence and authority, opulence and dignity, which it exhibited to the Christian world in the following century [*h*].

[*g*] See Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. iii. p. 386. and Præf. ad Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. v. p. 26. See also the Acta Sanctor. Bened. Sæc. v. p. 66. in which he speaks largely concerning Berno, the first abbot of Clugni, who laid the foundations of that order, and of Odo (p. 122.) who gave it a new degree of perfection. The learned Helyot, in his Histoire des Ordres Religieuses, tom. v. p. 184. has given a complete and elegant history of the order of Clugni, and the present state of that famous monastery is described by Martene, in his Voyage Litter. de deux Benedict. part I. p. 227.

[*h*] If we are not mistaken, the greatest part of ecclesiastical historians have not perceived the true meaning and force of the word order in its application to the Cistertian monks, those of Clugni, and other convents. They imagine that this term signifies a new monastic institution, as if the order of Clugni was a new sect of monks never before heard of. But this is a great error, into which they fall by confounding the ancient meaning of that term with the sense in which it is used in modern times. The word order, when employed by the writers of the tenth century, signified no more at first than a certain form or rule of monastic discipline; but from this primitive signification, another, and a secondary one, was gradually derived. So that by the word order is also understood an association or confederacy of several monasteries, subjected to the same rule of discipline under the jurisdiction and inspection of one common chief. Hence we conclude, that the order of Clugni was not a new sect of monks, such as were the Carthusian, Dominican, and Franciscan orders; but signified only, first, that new institution, or rule of discipline, which Odo had prescribed to the Benedictine monks,

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Greek writers.

XII. The more eminent Greek writers of this century are easily numbered; among them was Simeon, high treasurer of Constantinople, who, from his giving a new and more elegant style to the Lives of the Saints, which had been originally composed in a gross and barbarous language, was distinguished by the title of Metaphrast, or Translator [*i*]. He did not, however, content himself with digesting, polishing, and embellishing the saintly chronicle; but went so far as to augment it with a multitude of trifling fables drawn from the fecundity of his own imagination.

Nicon, an Armenian monk, composed a treatise Concerning the Religion of the Armenians, which is not altogether contemptible.

Some place in this century Olympiodorus and Oecumenius [*k*], who distinguished themselves by those compilations which were known by the name of Catenæ, or Chains, and of which we have had occasion to speak more than once in the course of this history. But it is by no means certain, that these two writers belong to the tenth century, and they are placed there only by conjecture.

It is much more probable, that the learned Suidas, author of the celebrated Greek Lexicon, lived in the period now before us.

Among the Arabians, no author acquired a higher reputation than Eutychius, bishop of

who were settled at Clugni, and afterwards, that prodigious multitude of monasteries throughout Europe, which received the rule established at Clugni, and were formed by association into a sort of community, of which the abbot of Clugni was the chief.

[*i*] See Leo Allatius, De Symeonum Scriptis, p. 24.—Jo. Bollandus, Præf. ad Acta Sanctorum. Antwerp, sect. iii. p. 6.

[*k*] For an account of Oecumenius, see Montfaucon, Biblioth. Corsliniana, p. 274.

Alexandria, whose Annals, with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant [*l*].

XIII. The most eminent of the Latin writers of this century was Gerbert, or Sylvester II., who has already been mentioned with the applause due to his singular merit. The other writers of this age were far from being eminent in any respect.

Latin writers.

Odo, who laid the foundations of the celebrated order of Clugni, left behind him several productions, in which the grossest superstition reigns, and in which it is difficult to perceive the smallest marks of true genius or solid judgment [*m*].

The learned reader will form a different opinion of Ratheir, bishop of Verona, whose works, yet extant, give evident proofs of sagacity and judgment, and breathe throughout an ardent love of virtue [*n*].

Atto, bishop of Vercelli, composed a treatise, De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis, *i. e.* Concerning the Sufferings and Grievances of the Church, which shows in their true colours the spirit and complexion of the times [*o*].

Dunstan, the famous abbot of Glassenbury, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, composed in favour of the monks a book, De Concordia Regularum, *i. e.* Concerning the Harmony of the Monastic Rules [*p*].

Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, acquired a considerable reputation among the Anglo-

[*l*] See Jo. Albert. Fabricii Bibliographia Antiquaria, p. 179. —As also Eusebii Renaudoti Historia Patriarch. Alexandr. p. 347.

[*m*] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. vi. p. 229.

[*n*] Id. ibid. p. 339.

[*o*] Id. ibid. p. 281.

[*p*] See the ample account that is given of this eminent prelate in Collier's Ecclesiastical History of England, vol. i. cent. x. p. 181. 183, 184, 185. 197. 203.

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Saxons established in Britain, by various productions [q].

Burchard, bishop of Worms, is highly esteemed among the Canonists on account of his celebrated Decreta, which he has divided into XX books; though a part of the merit of this collection of Canons is due to Olbert, with whose assistance it was composed [r].

Odilo, archbishop of Lyons [s], was the author of some insipid discourses, and other productions, whose mediocrity has almost sunk them in a total oblivion.

As to the historical writers and annalists who lived in this century, their works and abilities have been already considered in their proper place.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church during this Century.

The state of religion.

I. The state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in times of prevailing ignorance and corruption. The most important doctrines of Christianity were disfigured and perverted in the most wretched manner, and

☞ [q] We have a Grammar and a Dictionary composed by this learned prelate; as also an Anglo-Saxon translation of the First Books of the Holy Scripture, A History of the Church, and 180 Sermons. See Fleury, Hist. Eccl. livre lviii. p. 384. edit. de Bruxelles.

[r] See the Chronicon Wormatiense in Ludwig's Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum, tom. ii. p. 43.—Histoire Litter. de la France, tom. vii. p. 295.

☞ [s] Odilo was abbot of Clugni, and not archbishop of Lyons, which latter eminent station he obstinately refused, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties employed both by pontiffs and emperors to engage him to accept it. See Fleury, Hist. Eccl. livre lix. p. 520. edit. de Bruxelles.

such as had preserved, in unskilful hands, their primitive purity, were nevertheless obscured with a multitude of vain opinions and idle fancies, so that their intrinsic excellence and lustre were little attended to; all this will appear evident to those who look with the smallest degree of attention into the writers of this age. Both Greeks and Latins placed the essence and life of religion in the worship of images and departed saints; in searching after with zeal, and preserving with a devout care and veneration, the sacred relics of holy men and women, and in accumulating riches upon the priests and monks, whose opulence increased with the progress of superstition. Scarcely did any Christian dare to approach the throne of God, without rendering first the saints and images propitious by a solemn round of expiatory rites and lustrations. The ardour also with which relics were sought, surpasses almost all credibility; it had seized all ranks and orders among the people, and was grown into a sort of fanaticism and frenzy; and if the monks are to be believed, the Supreme Being interposed in a special and extraordinary manner, to discover to doating old wives and bareheaded friars, the places where the bones or carcasses of the saints lay dispersed or interred. The fears of purgatory, of that fire that was to destroy the remaining impurities of departed souls, were now carried to the greatest height, and exceeded by far the terrifying apprehensions of infernal torments; for they hoped to avoid the latter easily, by dying enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or covered with the merits and mediation of the saints; while from the pains of purgatory they knew there was no exemption. The clergy, therefore, finding these superstitions terrors admirably adapted to increase their authority and to promote their interest, used every method to augment them, and by the most pathetic

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discourses, accompanied with monstrous fables and fictitious miracles, they laboured to establish the doctrine of purgatory, and also to make it appear that they had a mighty influence in that formidable region.

The disputes concerning predestination and the Lord's supper.

II. The contests concerning predestination and grace, as also concerning the eucharist, that had agitated the church in the preceding century, were in this happily reduced to silence. This was owing to the mutual toleration that was practised by the contending parties, who, as we learn from writers of undoubted credit, left it to each other's free choice to retain or to change their former opinions. Besides, the ignorance and stupidity of this degenerate age were ill suited to such deep inquiries as these contests demanded; nor was there almost any curiosity among an illiterate multitude to know the opinions of the ancient doctors concerning these and other knotty points of theology. Thus it happened, that the followers of Augustin and Pelagius flourished equally in this century; and that if there were many who maintained the corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy sacrament, there were still more who either came to no fixed determination upon this point, or declared it publicly as their opinion, that the divine Saviour was really absent from the eucharistical sacrament, and was received only by a certain inward impulse of faith, and that in a manner wholly spiritual [*t*].

[*t*] It is certain, that the Latin doctors of this century differed much in their sentiments about the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist; this is granted by such of the Roman Catholic writers as have been ingenuous enough to sacrifice the spirit of party to the love of truth. That the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as it is commonly called, was unknown to the English in this century, has been abundantly proved from the public Homilies, by Rapin de Thoyras, in his History of England, vol. i. p. 463. It is, however, to be con-

This mutual toleration, as it is easy to conclude from what has already been observed, must not be attributed either to the wisdom or virtue of an age, which was almost totally destitute of both. The truth of the matter is, that the divines of this century wanted both the capacity and the inclination to attack or defend any doctrine, whose refutation or defence required the smallest portion of learning or logic.

Superstition nourished by a multitude of vain and idle opinions.

III. That the whole Christian world was covered, at this time, with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition, is evident from a prodigious number of testimonies and examples, which it is needless to mention. This horrible cloud, which hid almost every ray of truth from the eyes of the multitude, furnished a favourable opportunity to the priests and monks of propagating many absurd and ridiculous opinions, which contributed not a little to confirm their credit. Among these opinions, which dishonoured so frequently the Latin church, and produced from time to time such violent agitations, none occasioned such a universal panic, nor such dreadful impressions of terror or dismay, as a notion that now prevailed of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. This notion, which took its rise from a remarkable passage in the Revelations of St. John [*u*], and had

fessed, on the other hand, that this absurd doctrine was already adopted by several French and German divines. ☞ For a judicious account of the opinions of the Saxon-English church concerning the eucharist, see Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, vol. i. cent. x. p. 204. 266.

☞ [*u*] The passage here referred to, is in the twentieth chapter of the Book of Revelations, at the 2d, 3d, and 4th verses: "And he laid hold of the dragon, that old Serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years;—and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that he must be loosed a little season.—And I

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been entertained by some doctors in the preceding century, was advanced publicly by many at this time, and spreading itself with an amazing rapidity through the European provinces, it threw them into the deepest consternation and anguish. For they imagined that St. John had clearly foretold that after a thousand years from the birth of Christ, Satan was to be let loose from his prison, Antichrist to come, and the destruction and conflagration of the world to follow these great and terrible events. Hence prodigious numbers of people abandoned all their civil connexions and their parental relations, and giving over to the churches or monasteries all their lands, treasures, and worldly effects, repaired with the utmost precipitation to Palestine, where they imagined that Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves by a solemn and voluntary oath to the service of the churches, convents, and priesthood, whose slaves they became in the most rigorous sense of that word, performing daily their heavy tasks; and all this from a notion that the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and look upon them with a more favourable and propitious eye, on account of their having made themselves the slaves of his ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened to be visible, the cities were deserted, and their miserable inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and under the bending summits of steep mountains. The opulent at-

saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years."

tempted to bribe the Deity, and the saintly tribe, by rich donations conferred upon the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who were looked upon as the immediate vicegerents of heaven. In many places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, nay, were deliberately pulled down, from a notion that they were no longer of any use, since the final dissolution of all things was at hand. In a word, no language is sufficient to express the confusion and despair that tormented the minds of miserable mortals upon this occasion. This general delusion was, indeed, opposed and combated by the discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these groundless terrors, and to efface the notion from which they arose, in the minds of the people. But their attempts were ineffectual; nor could the dreadful apprehensions of the superstitious multitude be entirely removed before the conclusion of this century. Then, when they saw that the so much dreaded period had passed without the arrival of any great calamity, they began to understand that St. John had not really foretold what they so much feared [*w*].

[*w*] Almost all the donations that were made to the church during this century, carry evident marks of this groundless panic that had seized all the European nations, as the reasons of these donations are generally expressed in the following words: Appropinquante mundi termino, &c. *i. e.* The end of the world being now at hand, &c. Among the many undeniable testimonies that we have from ancient records of this universal delusion, that was so profitable to the sacerdotal order, we shall confine ourselves to the quotation of one very remarkable passage in the Apologeticum of Abbo, abbot of Fleury, adversus Arnulphum, *i. e.* Arnoul bishop of Orleans, which apology is published by the learned Francis Pithou, in the Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ, p. 401. The words of Abbo are as follow: "De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in Ecclesia Parisiorum adolescentulus audivi, quod statim finito mille annorum numero Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet: cui prædicationi ex Evangeliis, ac Apocalypsi,

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The saints multiplied.

IV. The number of the saints, who were looked upon as ministers of the kingdom of heaven, and whose patronage was esteemed such an unspeakable blessing, was now multiplied every where, and the celestial courts were filled with new legions of this species of beings, some of which, as we have had formerly occasion to observe, had no existence but in the imagination of their deluded clients and worshippers. This multiplication of saints may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height in this age, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. Besides the corruption and impiety that now reigned with a horrid sway, and the licentiousness and dissolution that had so generally infected all ranks and orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for, amidst such a perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy, and this, no doubt, contributed to increase considerably the number of the celestial advocates. All those, to whom nature had given an austere complexion, a gloomy temper, or enthusiastic imagination, were, in consequence of an advantageous comparison with the profligate multitude, revered as the favourites of heaven, and as the friends of God.

The Roman pontiff, who before this period had pretended to the right of creating saints by his sole authority, gave, in this century, the first specimen of this ghostly power; for in the preceding

et libro Danielis qua potui virtute restiti. Denique et errorem, qui de fine mundi inolevit, Abbas meus beatæ memoriæ Richardus, sagaci animo propulit, postquam literas â Lothariensibus accepit, quibus me respondere jussit. Nam fama pæne totum mundum impleverat, quod, quando Annunciatio Dominica in Parasceve contigisset, absque ullo scrupulo finis sæculi esset."

ages there is no example of his having exercised this privilege alone. This specimen was given in the year 993, by John XV. who, with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled Udalric, bishop of Augsburgh, in the number of the saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship and veneration of Christians [x]. We must not, however, conclude from hence, that after this period the privilege of canonizing new saints was vested solely in the Roman pontiffs [y]; for there are several examples upon record, which prove, that not only provincial councils, but also several of the first order among the bishops, advanced to the rank of saints such as they thought worthy of that high dignity, and continued thus to augment the celestial patrons of the church, without ever consulting the Roman pontiff, until the twelfth century [z]. Then Alexander III. abrogated this privilege of the bishops and councils, and placed canonization in the number of the more important acts of authority [a], which the sovereign pontiff alone, by a peculiar prerogative, was entitled to exercise.

The merit of the commentators of this century considered.

V. The expositors and commentators, who attempted in this century to illustrate and explain the sacred writings, were too mean in their abilities, and too unsuccessful in their undertakings, to deserve almost any notice: for it is extremely uncertain, whether or no the works of Olympiodorus and Oecumenius are to be considered as

[x] Franc. Pagi Breviar. Pontif. Roman. tom. ii. p. 259.

[y] This absurd opinion has been maintained with warmth by Phil. Bonnanus, in his Numismata Pontif. Romanorum, tom. i. p. 41.

[z] See Franc. Pagi Breviar. Pontif. Roman. tom. ii. p. 260. tom. iii. p. 30.—Arm. de la Chapelle, Biblioth. Angloise, tom. x. p. 105.—Mabillon, Præfat. ad Sæc. v. Benedict. p. 53.

[a] These were called the Causæ Majores.

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the productions of this age. Among the Latins Remi, or Remigius, bishop of Auxerre, continued the exposition of the holy scriptures, which he had begun in the preceding century; but his work is highly defective in various respects; for he takes very little pains in explaining the literal sense of the words, and employs the whole force of his fantastic genius in unfolding their pretended mystical signification, which he looked upon as infinitely more interesting than their plain and literal meaning. Besides, his explications are rarely the fruit of his own genius and invention, but are, generally speaking, mere compilations from ancient commentators. As to the Moral Observations of Odo upon the Book of Job [*b*], they are transcribed from a work of Gregory the Great, which bears the same title. We mention no more; if, however, any are desirous of an ample account of those who were esteemed the principal commentators in this century, they will find it in a book wrote professedly upon this subject by Notkerus Balbulus.

The state of theology and morals in this century.

VI. The science of theology was absolutely abandoned in this century; nor did either the Greek or Latin church furnish any writer who attempted to explain in a regular method the doctrines of Christianity. The Greeks were contented with the Works of Damascenus, and the Latins with those of Augustin and Gregory, who were now considered as the greatest doctors that had adorned the church. Some added to these the writings of venerable Bede and Rabanus Maurus. The important science of morals was still more neglected than that of theology in this wretched age, and was reduced to a certain number of dry and insipid homilies, and to the lives of the saints, which Simeon among the Greeks,

[*b*] Moralia in Jobum.

and Hubald, Odo, and Stephen [c], among the Latins, had drawn up with a seducing eloquence that covered the most impertinent fictions. Such was the miserable state of morals and theology in this century; in which, as we may further observe, there did not appear any defence of the Christian religion against its professed enemies.

The controversies between the Greek and Latin churches.

VII. The controversies between the Greek and Latin churches, were now carried on with less noise and impetuosity than in the preceding century, on account of the troubles and calamities of the times; yet they were not entirely reduced to silence [d]. The writers therefore who affirm, that this unhappy schism was healed, and that the contending parties were really reconciled to each other for a certain space of time, have grossly mistaken the matter [e]; though it be, indeed, true, that the tumults of the times produced now and then a cessation of these contests, and occasioned several truces, which insidiously concealed the bitterest enmity, and served often as a cover to the most treacherous designs. The Greeks were, moreover, divided among themselves, and disputed with great warmth concerning the lawfulness of repeated [f] marriages, to which violent contest the cause of Leo, surnamed the Philosopher, gave rise. This emperor having buried successively three wives without having had by them any male issue, espoused a fourth, whose

[c] Bishop of Liege.

[d] Mich. Lequien, Dissert. i. Damascenica de Processione Spiritus Sancti. sect. xiii. p. 12.—Fred. Spanheim, De Perpetua Dissensione Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occidental. part IV. sect. vii. p. 529. tom. ii. opp.

[e] Leo Allatius, De Perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident. lib. ii. cap. vii, viii. p. 600.

☞ [f] Fourth marriages, our author undoubtedly means, since second and third nuptials were allowed upon certain conditions.

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name was Zoe Carbinopsina, and who was born in the obscurity of a mean condition. As marriages repeated for the fourth time were held to be impure and unlawful by the Greek canons, Nicolas, the patriarch of Constantinople, suspended the emperor, upon this occasion, from the communion of the church. Leo, incensed at this rigorous proceeding, deprived Nicolas of the patriarchal dignity, and raised Euthymius to that high office, who, though he re-admitted the emperor to the bosom of the church, yet opposed the law which he had resolved to enact in order to render fourth marriages lawful. Upon this a schism, attended with the bitterest animosities, divided the clergy, one part of which declared for Nicolas, the other for Euthymius. Some time after this, Leo died, and was succeeded in the empire by Alexander, who deposed Euthymius, and restored Nicolas to his eminent rank in the church. No sooner was this warm patriarch reinstated in his office, than he began to load the memory of the late emperor with the bitterest execrations and the most opprobrious invectives, and to maintain the unlawfulness of fourth marriages with the utmost obstinacy. In order to appease these tumults which portended numberless calamities to the state, Constantine Porphyrogeneta, the son of Leo, called together an assembly of the clergy at Constantinople in the year 920, in which fourth marriages were absolutely prohibited, and marriages for the third time were permitted, on certain conditions; and thus the public tranquillity was restored [*g*].

Several other contests of like moment arose among the Greeks during this century; and they

[*g*] These facts are faithfully collected from Cedrenus Leunclavius, De Jure Græco-Rom. tom. i. p. 104, from Leo the Grammarian, Simeon the Treasurer, and other writers of the Byzantine history.

serve to convince us of the ignorance that prevailed among that people, and of their blind veneration and zeal for the opinions of their ancestors.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

I. In order to have some notion of the load of ceremonies under which the Christian religion groaned during this superstitious age, we have only to cast an eye upon the acts of the various councils which were assembled in England, Germany, France, and Italy. The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the saints, which multiplied from day to day; for each new saintly patron had appropriated to his service a new festival, a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites; and the clergy, notwithstanding their gross stupidity in other matters, discovered, in the creation of new ceremonies, a marvellous fertility of invention, attended with the utmost dexterity and artifice. It is also to be observed, that a great part of these new rites derived their origin from the various errors which the barbarous nations had received from their ancestors, and still retained, even after their conversion to Christianity. The clergy, instead of extirpating these errors, either gave them a Christian aspect by inventing certain religious rites to cover their deformity, or by explaining them in a forced allegorical manner; and thus they were perpetuated in the church, and devoutly transmitted from age to age. We may also attribute a considerable number of the rites and institutions, that dishonoured religion in this

Ceremonies multiplied.

CENT. X. PART II.

century, to foolish notions both concerning the Supreme Being and departed saints; for they imagined that God was like the princes and great ones of the earth, who are rendered propitious by costly presents, and are delighted with those cringing salutations, and other marks of veneration and homage, which they receive from their subjects; and they believed likewise, that departed spirits were agreeably affected with the same kind of services.

Festivals.

II. The famous yearly festival that was celebrated in remembrance of all departed souls, was instituted by the authority of Odilo, abbot of Clugni, and added to the Latin calendar towards the conclusion of this century [*h*]. Before this time, a custom had been introduced in many places of putting up prayers on certain days, for the souls that were confined in purgatory; but these prayers were made by each religious society, only for its own members, friends, and patrons. The pious zeal of Odilo could not be confined within such narrow limits; and he therefore extended the benefit of these prayers to all the souls that laboured under the pains and trials of purgatory [*i*]. This proceeding of Odilo was owing to the exhortations of a certain Sicilian hermit, who pretended to have learned, by an immediate revelation from heaven, that the prayers of the monks of Clugni would be effectual for the deliverance of departed spirits from the expiatory flames of a middle state [*k*]. Accordingly this

[*h*] In the year 998.

[*i*] See Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi. part I. p. 584. where the reader will find the Life of Odilo, with the decree he issued forth for the institution of this festival.

[*k*] The late pontiff Benedict XIV. was artful enough to observe a profound silence with respect to the superstitious and dishonourable origin of this anniversary festival, in his treatise De Festis J. Christi, Mariæ, et Sanctorum, lib. iii. cap. xxii.

festival was, at first, celebrated only by the congregation of Clugni: but having received afterwards the approbation of one of the Roman pontiffs, it was, by his order, kept with particular devotion in all the Latin churches.

The office of the holy Virgin Mary.

III. The worship of the Virgin Mary, which, before this century, had been carried to a very high degree of idolatry, received now new accessions of solemnity and superstition. Towards the conclusion of this century, a custom was introduced among the Latins of celebrating masses, and abstaining from flesh, in honour of the blessed Virgin, every Sabbath-day. After this was instituted what the Latins called the lesser office, in honour of St. Mary, which was, in the following century, confirmed by Urban II. in the council of Clermont. There are also to be found in this age manifest indications of the institution of the rosary and crown of the Virgin, by which her worshippers were to reckon the number of prayers that they were to offer to this new divinity; for though some place the invention of the Rosary in the xiiith century, and attribute it to St. Dominic, yet this supposition is made without any foundation [*l*]. The Rosary consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin: while the crown, according to the different opinions of the learned concerning the age of the blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or Ave Marias.

Institution of the rosary.

p. 671. tom. x. oper. and by his silence he has plainly shown to the world what he thought of this absurd festival. This is not the only mark of prudence and cunning that is to be found in the works of that famous pontiff.

[*l*] This is demonstrated by Mabillon, Præf. ad Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. v. p. 58.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this Century.

CENT. X. PART II.

Ancient heresies continue.

I. THE profound ignorance and stupidity, that were productive of so many evils in this century, had at least this advantage attending them, that they contributed much to the tranquillity of the church, and prevented the rise of new sects and new commotions of a religious kind. But though no new inventions were broached, the ancient errors still remained. The Nestorians and Monophysites lived still under the Arabian government, where, however, they were much more rigorously treated than in former times, and were often persecuted with the utmost injustice and violence. But as some of them excelled in medical knowledge, which was highly esteemed among the Arabians, while others rendered themselves acceptable to the great, by the dexterous management of their domestic affairs, as overseers and stewards, all this contributed to diminish the violence of the storms that arose against them from time to time.

The Paulicians.

II. The Manichæans or Paulicians, whose errors have been already pointed out, gathered considerable strength in Thrace under the reign of John Tzimisces. A great part of this sect had been transported into this province, by the order of Constantine Copronymus, so early as the seventh century, to put an end to the troubles and tumults they had excited in the east; but a still greater number of them were left behind, especially in Syria, and the adjacent countries. Hence it was, that Theodore, bishop of Antioch, from a pious apprehension of the danger to which his flock lay exposed from the neighbourhood of

such pernicious heretics, engaged the emperor, by his ardent and importunate solicitations, to send a new colony of these Manichæans from Syria to Philippi [*m*]. From Thrace this restless and turbulent sect passed into Bulgaria and Sclavonia, where they resided under the jurisdiction of their own pontiff, or patriarch, until the time of the council of Basil, *i. e.* until the fifteenth century. From Bulgaria the Paulicians removed to Italy, and spreading themselves from thence through the other provinces of Europe, they became extremely troublesome to the Roman pontiffs upon many occasions [*n*].

Troubles excited by Leutard.

III. In the very last year of this century arose a certain teacher, whose name was Leutard, who lived at Vertus, in the diocese of Chalons, and, in a short time, drew after him a considerable number of disciples. This new doctor could not bear the superstitious worship of images; which he is said to have opposed with the utmost vehemence, and even to have broke in pieces an image of Christ, which he found in a church where he went to perform his devotions. He, moreover, exclaimed with the greatest warmth against paying tythes to the priests, and in several other respects showed that he was no cordial friend to the sacerdotal order. But that which showed evidently that he was a dangerous fanatic, was his affirming that in the prophecies of the Old Testament there was a manifest mixture of truth and falsehood. Gebouin, bishop of Chalons, examined the pretensions which this man made to divine inspiration, and exposed his extravagance to the view of the public, whom he had so artfully se-

[*m*] Jo. Zonaras, Annal. lib. xvii. p. 209. edit. Paris. p. 164. edit. Venet.

[*n*] It is extremely probable, as we have already had occasion to observe, that the remains of this sect are still to be found in Bulgaria.

CENT. X. PART II.

duced: upon which he threw himself into a well, and ended his days, as many fanatics have done after him [o]. It is highly probable, that this upstart doctor taught many other absurd notions besides those which we have now mentioned, and that, after his death, his disciples made a part of the sect that was afterwards known in France under the name of the Albigenses, and which is said to have adopted the Manichæan errors.

The Anthropomorphites.

IV. There were yet subsisting some remains of the sect of the Arians in several parts of Italy, and particularly in the territory of Padua; but Ratherius, bishop of Verona, had a still more enormous heresy to combat in the system of the Anthropomorphites, which was revived in the year 939. In the district of Vicenza, a considerable number, not only of the illiterate multitude, but also of the sacerdotal order, fell into that most absurd and extravagant notion, that the Deity was clothed with a human form, and seated, like an earthly monarch, upon a throne of gold, and that his angelic ministers were men arrayed in white garments, and furnished with wings, to render them more expeditious in executing their sovereign's orders. This monstrous error will appear less astonishing, when we consider that the stupid and illiterate multitude had constantly before their eyes, in all the churches, the Supreme Being and his angels represented in pictures and images with the human figure.

The superstition of another set of blinded wretches, mentioned also by Ratherius, was yet more unaccountable and absurd than that of the Anthropomorphites; for they imagined that every Monday, mass was performed in heaven by St. Michael in the presence of God; and hence

[o] All this is related by Glaber Radulphus, Hist. lib. ii. cap. xi.

on that day they resorted in crowds to all the churches which were dedicated to that highly honoured saint [p]. It is more than probable, that the avarice of the priests, who officiated in the church of St. Michael, was the real source of this extravagant fancy; and that in this, as in many other cases, a rapacious clergy took advantage of the credulity of the people, and made them believe whatever they thought would contribute to augment the opulence of the church.

[p] Ratherii Epist. Synodica in Dacherii Spicilegio Script. Veter. tom. ii. p. 294.—Sigebertus Gemblac. Chronol. ad a. 939.

THE

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Prosperous Events which happened to the Church during this Century.

CENT. XI. PART I.

Christianity propagated.

I. In the preceding century some faint notions of the Christian religion, some scattered rays of that divine light which it administers to mortals, had been received among the Hungarians, Danes, Poles, and Russians; but the rude and savage spirit of these nations, together with their deplorable ignorance and their violent attachment to the superstitions of their ancestors, rendered their total conversion to Christianity a work of great difficulty, and which could not be accomplished all of a sudden. The zeal, however, with which this important work was carried on, did much honour to the piety of the princes and governors of these unpolished countries, who united their influence with the labours of the learned men whom they had invited into their dominions, to open the eyes of their subjects upon the truth [*a*].

[*a*] For an account of the Poles, Russians, and Hungarians, see Romualdi Vita in Actis Sanctor. tom. ii. Februar. p. 113, 114. 117.

In Tartary [*b*], and the adjacent countries, the zeal and diligence of the Nestorians gained over daily vast numbers to the profession of Christianity. It appears also evident from a multitude of unexceptionable testimonies, that metropolitan prelates, with a great number of inferior bishops under their jurisdiction, were established at this time in the provinces of Casgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, and Tangut [*c*]; from which we may conclude, that, in this and the following century, there was a prodigious number of Christians in those very countries which are at present overrun with Mahometanism and idolatry. All these Christians were undoubtedly Nestorians, and lived under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of that sect, who resided in Chaldea.

II. Among the European nations that lay yet

The conversion of certain nations attempted in vain.

[*b*] Tartary is taken here in its most comprehensive sense; for between the inhabitants of Tartary, properly so called, and the Calmucs, Mogols, and the inhabitants of Tangut, there is a manifest difference.

[*c*] Marcus Paul. Venetus De Regionibus Orientalibus, lib. i. cap. 38. 40. 45. 47, 48, 49. 62, 63, 64. lib. ii. cap. 39.—Euseb. Renaudot, Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, p. 420.—Jos. Simon. Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 502, &c. The successful propagation of the gospel, by the ministry of the Nestorians, in Tartary, China, and the neighbouring provinces, is a most important event, and every way worthy to employ the researches and the pen of some able writer, well acquainted with oriental history. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that, if this subject be important, it is also difficult on many accounts. It was attempted, however, notwithstanding its difficulty, by the most learned Theoph. Sigifred. Bayer, who had collected a great quantity of materials relative to this interesting branch of the history of Christianity, both from the works that have been published upon this subject, and from manuscripts that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious. But, unhappily for the republic of letters, the death of that excellent man interrupted his labours, and prevented him from executing a design, which was worthy of his superior abilities, and his well known zeal for the interests of religion.

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grovelling in their native darkness and superstition, were the Sclavonians, the Obotriti [*d*], the Venedi [*e*], and the Prussians, whose conversion had been attempted, but with little or no success, by certain missionaries, from whose piety and zeal better fruits might have been expected. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, Adalbert, bishop of Prague, had endeavoured to instil into the minds of the fierce and savage Prussians, the salutary doctrines of the gospel; but he perished in the fruitless attempt, and received, in the year 996, from the murdering lance of Siggo, a pagan priest, the crown of martyrdom [*f*]. Boleslaus, king of Poland, revenged the death of this pious apostle by entering into a bloody war with the Prussians, and he obtained by the force of penal laws and of a victorious army, what Adalbert could not effect by exhortation and argument [*g*]. He dragooned this savage people into the Christian church; yet besides this violent method of conversion, others of a more gentle kind were certainly practised by the attendance of Boleslaus, who seconded the military arguments of their prince, by the more persuasive influence of admonition and instruction. A certain ecclesiastic of illustrious birth, whose name was Boniface, and who was one of the disciples of St. Romuald, undertook the conversion of the Prussians, and was succeeded in this

☞ [*d*] The Obotriti were a great and powerful branch of the Vandals, whose kings resided in the country of Mecklenburgh, and whose domination extended along the coasts of the Baltic from the river Pene in Pomerania to the Duchy of Holstein.

☞ [*e*] The Venedi dwelt upon the banks of the Weissell, or Vistula, in, what is at present called, the Palatinate of Marienburgh.

[*f*] See the Acta Sanctor. ad d. xxiii. Aprilis, p. 174.

[*g*] Soliguac, Hist. Pologne, tom. i. p. 133.

pious enterprise by Bruno [*h*], who set out from Germany with a company of eighteen persons, who had entered with zeal into the same laudable design. These were, however, all barbarously massacred by the fierce and cruel Prussians, and neither the vigorous efforts of Boleslaus, nor of the succeeding kings of Poland, could engage this rude and inflexible nation to abandon totally the idolatry of their ancestors [*i*].

The Saracens driven out of Sicily.

III. Sicily had been groaning under the dominion of the Saracens since the ninth century; nor had the repeated attempts of the Greeks and Latins to dispossess them of that rich and fertile country, been hitherto crowned with the desired success. But in this century the face of affairs changed entirely in that island; for in the year 1059, Robert Guiscard, who had formed a settlement in Italy, at the head of a Norman colony, and was afterwards created duke of Apulia, encouraged by the exhortations of the Roman pontiff Nicolas II. and seconded by the assistance of his brother Roger, attacked with the greatest vigour and intrepidity the Saracens in Sicily; nor did this latter sheathe the victorious sword before he had rendered himself master of that island, and cleared it absolutely of its former tyrants. As soon as this great work was accomplished, which was not before the year 1090, Count Roger not only restored to its former glory and lustre the

☞ [*h*] Fleury differs from Dr. Mosheim in his account of Bruno, in two points. First, he maintains, that Boniface and Bruno were one and the same person, and here he is manifestly in the right; but he maintains farther, that he suffered martyrdom in Russia, in which he is evidently mistaken. It is proper farther to admonish the reader to distinguish carefully the Bruno here mentioned, from a monk of the same name, who founded the order of the Carthusians.

[*i*] Ant. Pagi Critica in Baronium, tom. iv. ad annum 1008. p. 97.—Christ. Hartknoch's Ecclesiastical History of Prussia, book I. ch. i. p. 12.

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Christian religion, which had been almost totally extinguished under the Saracen yoke, but also established bishoprics, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches throughout that province, and bestowed upon the clergy those immense revenues and those distinguished honours which they still enjoy [*k*]. It is in the privileges conferred upon this valiant chief, that we find the origin of that supreme authority in matters of religion, which is still vested in the kings of Sicily, within the limits of their own territories, and which is known by the name of the Sicilian monarchy; for the Roman pontiff Urban II. is said to have granted, A. D. 1097, by a special diploma, to Roger and his successors, the title, authority, and prerogatives of hereditary legates of the apostolic see. The court of Rome affirms, that this diploma is not authentic; and hence those warm contentions, about the spiritual supremacy, that have arisen even in our times between the bishops of Rome and the kings of Sicily. The successors of Roger governed that island, under the title of dukes, until the twelfth century, when it was erected into a kingdom [*l*].

Expeditions formed against the Saracens in Palestine.

IV. The Roman pontiffs, from the time of Sylvester II. had been forming plans for extending the limits of the church in Asia, and especially for driving the Mahometans out of Palestine; but the troubles in which Europe was so long involved prevented the execution of these arduous designs. Gregory VII. the most enterprising and audacious pontiff that ever sat in the apostolic chair, animated and inflamed by the repeated complaints which the Asiatic Christians

[*k*] See Burigni, Histoire Generale de la Sicile, tom. i. p. 386.

[*l*] See Baronii Liber de Monarchia Siciliæ, tom. xi. Annal. as also Du Pin, Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne.

made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake in person a holy war for the deliverance of the church, and upwards of fifty thousand men were already mustered to follow him in this bold expedition [*m*]. But his quarrel with the emperor Henry IV. of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unforeseen occurrences, obliged him to lay aside his intended invasion of the holy land. The project, however, was renewed towards the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of an inhabitant of Amiens, who was known by the name of Peter the Hermit, and who suggested to the Roman pontiff Urban II. the means of accomplishing what had been unluckily suspended. This famous hermit, in a voyage which he had made through Palestine, A. D. 1093, had observed with inexpressible anguish, the vexations and persecutions, which the Christians who visited the holy places suffered from the barbarous and tyrannic Saracens. Inflamed, therefore, with a holy indignation and a furious zeal, which he looked upon as the effects of a divine impulse, he implored the succours of Symeon, patriarch of Constantinople, and Urban II. but without effect. Far from being discouraged by this, he renewed his efforts with the utmost vigour, went through all the countries of Europe sounding the alarm of a holy war against the infidel nations, and exhorting all Christian princes to draw the sword against the tyrants of Palestine; nor did he stop here; but with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he said was written in heaven, and addressed from thence to all true Christians, to animate their zeal for the deliverance of their

[*m*] Gregorii VII. Epist. lib. ii. p. 3. in Harduini Conciliis, tom. vi. part I. p. 1285.

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brethren, who groaned under the oppressive burthen of a Mahometan yoke [*n*].

The progress of the holy war.

V. When Urban II. saw the way prepared by the exhortations of the hermit who had put the spirits of the people every where in a ferment, and had kindled in their breasts a vehement zeal for that holy carnage which the church had been meditating so long, he assembled a grand and numerous council at Placentia, A. D. 1095, and recommended warmly, for the first time, the sacred expedition against the infidel Saracens [*o*]. This arduous enterprise was far from being approved of by the greatest part of this numerous assembly, notwithstanding the presence of the emperor's legates, who, in their master's name, represented most pathetically how necessary it was to set limits to the power of the victorious Turks, whose authority and dominion increased from day to day. The pontiff's proposal was, however, renewed with the same zeal, and with the desired success, some time after this, in the council assembled at Clermont, where Urban was present. The pompous and pathetic speech which he delivered upon this occasion made a deep and powerful impression upon the minds of the French, whose natural character renders them much superior to the Italians in encountering difficulties, facing danger, and attempting the execution of the most perilous designs. So that an innumerable multitude, composed of all ranks and orders

[*n*] This circumstance is mentioned by the abbot Dodechinus, in his Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scoti Scriptor. Germanicor. Jo Pistorii, tom. i. p. 462. For an account of Peter, see Du Fresne, Notæ ad Annæ Comnenæ Alexiadem, p. 79. edit. Venet.

[*o*] This council was the most numerous of any that had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held in the open fields. There were present at it two hundred bishops, four thousand ecclesiastics, and three hundred thousand laymen.

in the nation, offered themselves as volunteers in this sacred expedition [p]. This numerous host was looked upon as formidable in the highest degree, and equal to the most glorious enterprises and exploits, while, in reality, it was no more than an unwieldy body without life and vigour, and was weak and contemptible in every respect. This will appear sufficiently evident, when we consider that this army was a motley assemblage of monks, prostitutes, artists, labourers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, and profligate debauchees, and that it was principally composed of the lowest dregs of the multitude, who were animated solely by the prospect of spoil and plunder, and hoped to make their fortunes by this holy campaign. Every one will perceive how little either discipline, counsel, or fortitude were to be expected from such a miserable rabble. This expedition was distinguished, in the French language, by the name of a croisade, and all who embarked in it were called croises, or cross-bearers; not only because the end of this holy war was to wrest the cross of Christ out of the hands of the infidels, but also on account of the consecrated cross of various colours, which every soldier wore upon his right shoulder [q].

VI. In consequence of these grand preparations, eight hundred thousand men, in separate bodies, and under different commanders, set out for Constantinople, in the year 1096; that having re- The history of this holy war.

[p] Theod. Ruinart, in Vita Urbani II. sect. ccxxv. p. 224. 299. 240. 272. 274. 282. 296. tom. iii. opp. posthum.—J. Mabilloni et Theod. Ruinarti, Jo. Harduini, Concilior. tom. xi. part II. p. 1726.—Baronius, Annal. Eccl. tom. xi. ad a. 1095. n. xxxii. p. 648.

[q] See Abrah. Bzovius, Continuat. Annal. Baronii, tom. xv. ad a. 1410. n. ix. p. 322. edit. Colon. L'Enfant, Histoire du Concile de Pise, tom. ii. lib. v. p. 60.—The writers who have treated of this holy war are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii toto orbe exoriens, cap. xxx. p. 518.

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ceived there both assistance and direction from Alexis Comnenius the Grecian emperor, they might pursue their march into Asia. One of the principal divisions of this enormous body was led on by Peter the Hermit, the author and fomenter of the war, who was girded with a rope, and continued to appear with all the marks of an austere solitary. This first division, in their march through Hungary and Thrace, committed the most flagitious crimes, which so incensed the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, particularly those of Hungary and Turcomania, that they rose up in arms and massacred the greatest part of them. A like fate attended several other divisions of the same army, who, under the conduct of weak and unskilful chiefs, wandered about like an undisciplined band of robbers, plundering the cities that lay in their way, and spreading misery and desolation wherever they came. The armies that were headed by illustrious commanders, distinguished by their birth and their military endowments, arrived more happily at the capital of the Grecian empire. That which was commanded by Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, who deserves a place among the greatest heroes, whether of ancient or modern times [r], and, by his brother Baldwin, was composed of eighty thousand well chosen troops, horse and foot [s], and directed its march

[r] The Benedictine monks have given an ample account of this magnanimous chief, whose character was a bright assemblage of all Christian, civil, and heroic virtues, in their Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. viii. p. 598.

[s] The engaging and illustrious virtues of Godfrey had drawn from all parts a prodigious number of volunteers, who were ambitious to fight under his standards. This enormous multitude perplexed, however, the valiant chief, who, on that account, divided it into several bodies, and finding in Peter the Hermit the same ambitious and military spirit that had prevailed in him before his retreat from the world, declared him the general of the

through Germany and Hungary. Another, which was headed by Raimond, earl of Toulouse, passed through the Sclavonian territories. Robert, earl of Flanders, Robert, duke of Normandy [*t*], Hugo, brother to Philip I. king of France, embarked their respective forces in a fleet which was assembled at Brundisi and Tarento, from whence they were transported to Durazzo or Dyrrachium, as it was anciently called. These armies were followed by Boemond, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a chosen and numerous body of valiant Normans.

VII. This army was the greatest, and, in outward appearance, the most formidable, that had been known in the memory of man; and though before its arrival at Constantinople, it was diminished considerably by the difficulties and oppositions it had met with on the way; yet such as it was, it made the Grecian emperor tremble, and filled his mind with the most anxious and terrible apprehensions of some secret design against his dominions. His fears, however, were dispelled, when he saw these legions pass the streights of Gallipolis, and direct their march towards Bithynia [*u*].

first division, which was detached from the rest, and ordered to march immediately to Constantinople. By this means Godfrey got rid of the dregs of that astonishing multitude which flocked to his camp. Father Maimbourg, notwithstanding his immoderate zeal for the holy war, and that fabulous turn which enables him to represent it in the most favourable points of view, acknowledges frankly, that the first divisions of this prodigious army committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no kind of insolence, injustice, impurity, barbarity, and violence of which they were not guilty. Nothing perhaps in the annals of history can equal the flagitious deeds of this infernal rabble. See particularly Maimbourg, Hist. des Croisades, tom. i. livre i. p. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62. 2d ed. in 12mo.

☞ [*t*] Eldest son of William the Conqueror.

☞ [*u*] Our author, for the sake of brevity, passes over the contests and jealousies that subsisted between the chief of the crusade and the Grecian emperor. The character of the

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The first successful enterprise [*w*] that was formed against the Infidels, was the siege of Nice, the capital of Bithynia, which was taken in the year 1097; from thence the victorious army proceeded into Syria, and in the following year subdued Antioch, which, with its fertile territory, was granted, by the assembled chiefs, to Boemond, duke of Apulia. Edessa fell next into the hands of the victors, and became the property of Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon. The conquest of Jerusalem, which, after a siege of five weeks, submitted to their arms in the year 1099, seemed to crown their expedition with the desired success. In this city were laid the foundations of a new kingdom, at the head of which was placed the famous Godfrey, whom the army saluted king of Jerusalem with an unanimous voice.

But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent qualities were adorned with the greatest modesty, refused that high title [*x*], though he governed

latter is differently painted by different historians. The warm defenders of the crusade represent him as a most perfidious prince, who, under the show of friendship and zeal, aimed at nothing less than the destruction of Godfrey's army. Others consider him as a wise, prudent politician, who, by artifice and stratagem, warded off the danger he had reason to apprehend from these formidable legions that passed through his dominions; and part of which, particularly the army commanded by Peter the Hermit, ravaged his most fruitful territories in the most barbarous manner, and pillaged and plundered even the suburbs of the capital of the empire. The truth of the matter is, that if Alexis cannot be vindicated from the charge of perfidy, the holy warriors are, on the other hand, chargeable with many acts of brutality and injustice. See Maimbourg, Histoire des Croisades, livre i. et ii.

☞ [*w*] Before the arrival of Godfrey in Asia, the army, or rather rabble, commanded by Peter the Hermit in such a ridiculous manner as might be expected from a wrong-headed monk, was defeated and cut to pieces by the young Soliman.

☞ [*x*] All the historians, who write concerning this holy war, applaud the answer which Godfrey returned to the offer

Jerusalem with that valour, equity, and prudence that have rendered his name immortal. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted the rest of the troops to return into Europe. He did not, however, enjoy long the fruits of a victory, in which his heroic valour had been so gloriously displayed, but died about a year after the conquest of Jerusalem, leaving his dominions to his brother Baldwin, prince of Edessa, who assumed the title of king without the least hesitation.

The motives which engaged the bishops of Rome and the princes of Europe in this holy war.

VIII. If we examine the motives that engaged the Roman pontiffs, and particularly Urban II. to kindle this holy war, which in its progress and issue was so detrimental to almost all the countries of Europe, we shall probably be persuaded that its origin is to be derived from the corrupt notions of religion, which prevailed in these barbarous times. It was thought inconsistent with the duty and character of Christians, to suffer that land, that was blessed with the ministry, distinguished by the miracles, and consecrated by the blood of the Saviour of men, to remain under the dominion of his most inveterate enemies. It was also looked upon as a very important branch of true piety to visit the holy places in Palestine; which pilgrimages, however, were extremely dangerous, while the despotic Saracens were in possession of that country. Nor is it to be denied, that these motives of a religious kind were accompanied and rendered more effectual by an anxious apprehension of the growing power of the Turks, who had already subdued the greatest part of the Grecian empire,

that was made him of a crown of gold, as a mark of his accession to the throne of Jerusalem; the answer was, that "he could not bear the thoughts of wearing a crown of gold in that city, where the King of kings had been crowned with thorns." This answer was sublime in the eleventh century.

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and might soon carry into Europe, and more particularly into Italy, their victorious arms.

There are, it must be confessed, several learned men who have accounted otherwise for this pious, or rather fanatical expedition. They imagine that the Roman pontiffs recommended this sacred campaign with a view to augment their own authority, and to weaken the power of the Latin emperors and princes; and that these princes countenanced and encouraged it in hopes of getting rid, by that means, of their more powerful and warlike vassals, and of becoming masters of their lands and possessions [*y*]. Those conjectures,

[*y*] The part of this hypothesis that relates to the views of the Roman pontiffs has been adopted as an undoubted truth, not only by many protestant historians, but also by several writers of the Roman communion. See Bened. Accoltus. De Bello Sacro in Infideles, lib. i. p. 16.—Basnage, Histoire des Eglises Reformées, tom. i. periode v. p. 235.—Vertot, Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. livre iii. p. 302. 308. livre iv. p. 428.—Baillet, Histoire des Demelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel, p. 76.—Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique François, tom. i. p. 296. 299. To such, however, as consider matters attentively, this hypothesis will appear destitute of any solid foundation. Certain it is that the Roman pontiffs could never have either foreseen, or imagined that so many European princes, and such prodigious multitudes of people, would take arms against the infidels and march into Palestine; nor could they be assured beforehand, that this expedition would tend to the advancement of their opulence and authority. For all the accessions of influence and wealth, which the Roman pontiffs and the clergy in general derived from these holy wars, were of a much later date than their first origin, and were acquired by degrees, rather by lucky hits, than by deep laid schemes; and this alone is sufficient to show, that the bishops of Rome, in forming the plan, and exhorting to the prosecution of these wars, had no thoughts of extending thereby the limits of their authority. We may add to this consideration, another of no less weight in the matter before us, and that is, the general opinion which prevailed at this time, both among the clergy and the people, that the conquest of Palestine would be finished in a short time, in a single campaign; that the Divine Providence would interpose, in a miraculous manner, to accomplish the ruin of the

however plausible in appearance, are still no more than conjectures. The truth of the matter seems to be this; that the Roman pontiffs and the Eu-

infidels; and that, after the taking of Jerusalem, the greatest part of the European princes would return home with their troops, which last circumstance was by no means favourable to the views which the pontiffs are supposed to have formed of increasing their opulence and extending their dominion. Of all the conjectures that have been entertained upon this subject, the most improbable and groundless is that which supposes that Urban II. recommended, with such ardour, this expedition into Palestine, with a view to weaken the power of the emperor Henry IV. with whom he had a violent dispute concerning the investiture of bishops. They who adopt this conjecture must be little acquainted with the history of these times; or at least they forget, that the first armies that marched into Palestine against the infidels were chiefly composed of Franks and Normans, and that the Germans, who were the enemies of Urban II. were, in the beginning, extremely averse to this sacred expedition. Many other considerations might be added here to illustrate this matter, which, for the sake of brevity, I pass in silence.

That part of the hypothesis, which relates to the kings and princes of Europe, and supposes that they countenanced the holy war to get rid of their powerful vassals, is as groundless as the other, which we have been now refuting. It is, indeed, adopted by several eminent writers, such as Veriot (Hist. de Malthe, livre iii. p. 309). Boulainvilliers, and others, who pretend to a superior and uncommon insight into the policy of these remote ages. The reasons, however, which these great men employed to support their opinion, may be all comprehended in this single argument, *viz.* "Many kings, especially among the Franks, became more opulent and powerful by the number of their vassals, who lost their lives and fortunes in this holy war; therefore, these princes not only permitted, but warmly countenanced the prosecution of this war from selfish and ambitious principles." The weakness of this conclusion must strike every one at first sight. We are wonderfully prone to attribute both to the Roman pontiffs, and the princes of this barbarous age, much more sagacity and cunning than they really possessed; and we deduce from the events, the principles and views of the actors, which is a defective and uncertain manner of reasoning. With respect to the Roman pontiffs, it appears most probable that their immense opulence and authority were acquired, rather by their improving dexterously the opportunities that were offered them, than by the schemes they formed for extending their dominion, or filling their coffers.

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ropean princes were engaged at first in these crusades by a principle of superstition only; but when, in process of time, they learned by experience, that these holy wars contributed much to increase their opulence and to extend their authority, by sacrificing their wealthy and powerful rivals, then new motives were presented to encourage these sacred expeditions into Palestine, and ambition and avarice seconded and enforced the dictates of fanaticism and superstition.

Its unhappy consequences, and the innumerable evils that attended it.

IX. Without determining any thing concerning the justice or injustice [z] of these holy wars,

[z] I do not pretend to decide the question concerning the lawfulness of the crusades; a question which, when it is considered with attention and impartiality, will appear not only extremely difficult, but also highly doubtful. It is, however, proper to inform the reader, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the justice of this holy war was called in question, and warmly disputed among Christians. The Waldenses and Albigenses, who were distinguished by the name of Cathari, or Puritans, considered these expeditions into Palestine as absolutely unlawful. The reasons they alleged were collected and combated by Francis Moneta, a Dominican friar of the thirteenth century, in a book entitled Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses, lib. v. cap. xiii. p. 531. which was published some years ago at Rome, by Richini. But neither the objections of the Waldenses, nor the answers of Moneta, were at all remarkable for their weight and solidity, as will appear evidently from the following example. The former objected to the holy war the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 32. "Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles." By the Gentiles, said they, are to be understood the Saracens. And therefore the European Christians are to abstain from making war upon the Saracens, lest they give offence to the Gentiles. We shall give Moneta's answer to this argument in his own words: "We read, (says he), Gen. xii. 7. that God said unto Abraham, Unto thy seed will I give this land: Now we (Christians who dwell in Europe) are the seed of Abraham, as the apostle affirms, Galat. iii. 29. Therefore we are heirs of the promise, and the holy land is given to us by the covenant as our lawful possession. From all which it appears, that it is the duty of civil and temporal rulers to use their most zealous efforts to put us in possession of the promised land, while it is, at the same time, incumbent upon the church and its ministers to exhort these rulers

we may boldly affirm, that they were highly prejudicial both to the cause of religion, and to the civil interests of mankind; and that, in Europe, more especially, they were fruitful of innumerable evils and calamities, whose effects are yet perceivable in our times. The European nations were deprived of the greatest part of their inhabitants by these ill-judged expeditions; immense sums of money were exported into Asia for the support of

in the most urgent manner to the performance of their duty. A rare argument this truly! but let us hear him out: "The church has no design to injure or slaughter the Saracens, nor is such the intention of the Christian princes engaged in this war. Yet the blood of the infidels must of necessity be shed, if they make resistance and oppose the victorious arms of the princes. The church of God therefore is entirely innocent and without reproach in this matter, and gives no offence to the Gentiles, because it does no more, in reality, than maintain its undoubted right." Such is the subtile reasoning of Moneta, on which it is not necessary to make any reflections.

☞ Dr. Mosheim seems too modest, nay even timorous in his manner of expressing himself concerning the justice of this holy war, which was so absurd in its principle, and so abominable in the odious circumstances that attended it. His respect, perhaps, for the Teutonic crosses which abound in Germany, and are the marks of an order which derives its origin from these fanatical expeditions into Palestine, may have occasioned that ambiguity and circumspection in his expressions, through which, however, it is easy to perceive his disapprobation of the crusades. The holy place profaned by the dominion of infidels, was the apparent pretext for this fanatical war. What holy place? Jerusalem, say the knights errant of Palestine. But they forget that Jerusalem was a city, which, by the conduct of its inhabitants and the crucifixion of Christ, was become most odious in the eye of God; that it was visibly loaded with a divine malediction, and was the miserable theatre of the most tremendous judgments and calamities that ever were inflicted upon any nation. Had the case been otherwise, we know of no right which Christianity gives its professors to seize upon the territories, and invade the possessions of unbelievers. Had the Jews attempted the conquest of Palestine, they would have acted conformably with their apparent rights; because it was formerly their country; and consistently also with their religious principles; because they expected a Messiah who was to bind the kings of the Gentiles in chains, and to reduce the whole world under the Jewish yoke.

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the war; and numbers of the most powerful and opulent families became either extinct, or were involved in the deepest miseries of poverty and want. It could not well be otherwise; since the heads of the most illustrious houses either mortgaged or sold their lands and possessions in order to pay the expenses of their voyage [a]; while others imposed such intolerable burdens upon their vassals and tenants, as obliged them to abandon their houses, and all their domestic concerns, and to enlist themselves, rather through wild despair than religious zeal, under the sacred banner of the cross. Hence the face of Europe was totally changed, and all things thrown into the utmost confusion. We pass in silence the various enormities that were occasioned by these crusades, the murders, rapes, and robberies of the most infernal nature, that were every where committed with impunity by these holy soldiers of God and of Christ, as they were impiously called; nor shall we enter into a detail of the new privileges and rights to which these wars gave rise, and which were often attended with the greatest inconveniences [b].

[a] We find many memorable examples of this in the ancient records. Robert, duke of Normandy, mortgaged his duchy to his brother William, king of England, to defray the expenses of his voyage to Palestine. See the Histor. Major of Matthew Paris, lib. i. p. 24.—Odo, viscount of Bourges, sold his territory to the king of France. Gallia Christian. Benedictinorum, tom. ii. p. 45. See, for many examples of this kind, Car. du Fresne, Adnot. ad Joinvilli Vitam Ludovici S. p. 52. Boulainvilliers, sur l'Origine et les Droits de la Noblesse in Molet's Memoires de Litterature et de l'Histoire, tom. ix. part I. p. 68.—Jo. George Cramer. De Juribus et Prærogativis Nobilitatis, tom. i. p. 81. 409. From the commencement, therefore, of these holy wars, a vast number of estates, belonging to the European nobility, were either mortgaged, or totally transferred, some to kings and princes, others to priests and monks, and not a few to persons of a private condition, who by possessing considerable sums of ready money, were enabled to make advantageous purchases.

[b] Such persons as entered into these expeditions, and were distinguished by the badge of the military cross, acquired thereby

X. These holy wars were not less prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the Christian church, than they were to the temporal concerns of men. One of their first and most pernicious effects was the enormous augmentation of the influence and authority of the Roman pontiffs: they also contributed, in various ways, to enrich the churches and monasteries with daily accessions of wealth, and to open new sources of opulence to all the sacerdotal orders. For they who assumed the cross disposed of their possessions as if they were at the point of death; and this on account of the imminent and innumerable dangers they were to be exposed to in their passage to the holy land, and the opposition they were to encounter there upon their arrival [c]. They therefore, for the most part, made their wills before their departure, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the priests and monks, in order to obtain, by these pious legacies, the favour and protection of the Deity [d]. Many examples of these donations are to be found in ancient records. Such of the holy soldiers as had been engaged in suits of law with the priests or monks renounced their pretensions, and submissively gave up what

Its unhappy effects considered, with respect to the state of religion.

certain remarkable rights, which were extremely prejudicial to the rest of their fellow-citizens. Hence it happened, that when any of these *holy* soldiers contracted any civil obligations, or entered into conventions of sale, purchase, or any such transactions, they were previously required to renounce all privileges and immunities, which they had obtained or might obtain in time to come by taking on the cross. See Le Bœuf, Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre, Append. tom. ii. p. 292.

☞ [c] The translator has here inserted into the text the note [r] of the original, as it is purely historical, and makes a very interesting part of the narration.

[d] See Plessis, Hist. de Meaux, tom. ii. p. 76. 79. 141.—Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. p. 138, 139.—Le Bœuf, Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre, tom. ii. Append. p. 91.—Du Fresne, Notæ ad Vitam Ludovici Sancti, p. 52.

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ever it was that had been the subject of debate. And others, who had seized upon any of the possessions of the churches or convents, or had heard of any injury that had been committed against the clergy, by the remotest of their ancestors, made the most liberal restitution, both for their own usurpations and those of their forefathers, and made ample satisfaction for the real or pretended injuries they had committed against the church by rich and costly donations [e].

Nor were these the only unhappy effects of these holy expeditions, considered with respect to their influence upon the state of religion, and the affairs of the Christian church. For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into Palestine, the priests and monks, who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were more or less awed by their authority, threw off all restraint, lived the most lawless and profligate lives, and abandoned themselves to all sorts of licentiousness, committing the most flagitious and extravagant excesses without reluctance or remorse. The monster superstition, which was already grown to an enormous size, received new accessions of strength and influence by this holy war, and exercised with more vehemence than ever its despotic dominion over the minds of the Latins. For the crowd of saints and tutelary patrons, whose number was prodigious before this period, was now augmented by fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin [f], which had

[e] Du Fresne, l. c. p. 52.

[f] The Roman catholic historians acknowledge, that, during the time of the crusades, many saints, unknown to the Latins before that period, were imported into Europe from Greece and the eastern provinces, and were treated with the utmost respect and the most devout veneration. Among these new patrons there were some whose exploits, and even their existence, were

hitherto been unknown in Europe, and an incredible quantity of relics, the greatest part of which were ridiculous in the highest degree, were imported into the European churches. The armies, that returned from Asia after the taking of Jerusalem, brought with them a vast number of these saintly relics, which they bought at a high price from the cunning Greeks and Syrians, and which they considered as the noblest spoils that could crown their return from the holy land. These they committed to the custody of the clergy in the churches and monasteries, or ordered them to be most carefully preserved in their families from generation to generation [*g*].

called in question. Such, among others, was St. Catharine, whom Baronius and Cassander represent as having removed from Syria into Europe. See Baronius, Ad Martyrol. Roman. p. 728.—George Cassander, Schol. ad Hymnos Ecclesiæ, p. 278, 279. opp. Paris, 1616. fol. It is, however, extremely doubtful, whether or no this Catharine, who is honoured as the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

[*g*] The sacred treasures of musty relics, which the French, Germans, Britons, and other European nations, preserved formerly with so much care, and show even in our times with such pious ostentation, are certainly not more ancient than these holy wars, but were then purchased at a high rate from the Greeks and Syrians. These cunning traders in superstition, whose avarice and fraud were excessive, imposed upon the credulity of the simple and ignorant Latins, and often sold them fictitious relics. Richard, king of England, bought in the year 1191, from the famous Saladin, all the relics that were to be found in Jerusalem, as appears from the testimony of Matthew de Paris, Hist. Major, p. 138, who tells us also, p. 666. of the same work, that the Dominicans brought from Palestine a white stone, in which Jesus Christ had left the print of his feet. The Genoese pretend to have received from Baldwin, second king of Jerusalem, the very dish in which the paschal lamb was served up to Christ and his disciples at the last supper; though this famous dish excites the laughter of even Father Labat, in his Voyages en Espagne et en Italie, tom. ii. p. 63. For an account of the prodigious quantity of relics which St. Louis brought from Palestine into France, we refer the reader to the life of that prince, composed by Joinville, and published by Du Fresne; as also to

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

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The sufferings of the church under the dominion and usurpations of the Saracens and Turks.

I. THE greatest opposition the Christians met with in this century was from the Saracens and Turks. To the latter the Christians and Saracens were equally odious, and felt equally the fatal consequences of their increasing dominion. The Saracens, notwithstanding their bloody contest with the Turks, which gave them constant occupation, and the vigorous, though ineffectual efforts they were continually making to set limits to the power of that fierce nation, which was daily extending the bounds of its empire, persisted still in their cruelty towards their Christian subjects, whom they robbed, plundered, maimed, or murdered in the most barbarous manner, and loaded with all sorts of injuries and calamities. The Turks, on the other hand, not only reduced the Saracen dominion to very narrow bounds, but also seized upon the richest provinces of the Grecian empire, those fertile countries that lay upon the coasts of the Euxine sea, and subjected them to

Plessis, Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux, tom. i. p. 120. and Lancelot, Memoires pour la Vie de l'Abbé de St. Cyran, tom. ii. p. 175. Christ's handkerchief, which is worshipped at Bezançon, was brought there from the holy land. See Jo. Jac. Chiflet, Visontio, part II. p. 108. and De Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus, c. ix. p. 50. Many other examples of this miserable superstition may be seen in Anton. Matthæi Analecta Veteris Ævi, tom. ii. p. 677.—Jo. Mabillon, Annal. Bened. tom. vi. p. 52, and principally Chiflet's Cri[illegible] Historica de Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus, c. ix, x. p. 50. and also 59. where we find the following passage: "Sciendum est, vigenti immani et barbara Turcarum persecutione, et imminente Christianæ religionis in Oriente naufragio, educta e sacrariis et per Christianos quovismodo recondita Ecclesiæ pignora...Hisce plane divinis opibus illecti præ aliis, Sacra Λείψανα qua vi, quo pretio, a detinentibus hac illac extorserunt."

their yoke, while they impoverished and exhausted the rest by perpetual incursions, and by the most severe and unmerciful exactions. The Greeks were not able to oppose this impetuous torrent of prosperous ambition. Their force was weakened by intestine discords, and their treasures were exhausted to such a degree as rendered them incapable of raising new troops, or of paying the armies they had already in their service.

And in the western provinces.

II. The Saracens in Spain opposed the progress of the gospel in a different, yet still more pernicious, way. They used all sorts of methods to allure the Christians into the profession of Mahometanism: alliances of marriage, advantageous contracts, flattering rewards, were employed to seduce them with too much success; for great numbers fell into these fatal snares, and apostatized from the truth [*h*]. And these allurements would have, undoubtedly, still continued to seduce multitudes of Christians from the bosom of the church, had not the face of affairs been changed in Spain by the victorious arms of the kings of Arragon and Castile, and more especially Ferdinand I.; for these princes, whose zeal for Christianity was equal to their military courage, defeated the Saracens in several battles, and deprived them of a great part of their territories and possessions [*i*].

The number of those among the Danes, Hungarians, and other European nations, who retained their prejudices in favour of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, was as yet very considerable;

[*h*] Jo. Henr. Hottingeri Histor. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xi. § ii. p. 452. Michael Geddes' History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain, which is to be found in the Miscellaneous Tracts of that Author, tom. i. p. 104.

[*i*] For an account of these wars between the first Christian kings of Spain and the Mahometans or Moors, see the Spanish histories of Jo. Mariana and Jo. Ferrera.

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and they persecuted, with the utmost cruelty, the neighbouring nations, and also such of their fellow-citizens as had embraced the gospel. To put a stop to this barbarous persecution, Christian princes exerted their zeal in a terrible manner, proclaiming capital punishment against all who persisted in the worship of the pagan deities. This dreadful severity contributed much more towards the extirpation of paganism than the exhortations and instructions of ignorant missionaries, who were unacquainted with the true nature of the gospel, and dishonoured its pure and holy doctrines by their licentious lives, and their superstitious practices.

The Prussians, Lithuanians, Sclavonians, Obotriti, and several other nations, who dwelt in the lower parts of Germany, and lay still groveling in the darkness of paganism, continued to vex the Christians, who lived in their neighbourhood, by perpetual acts of hostility and violence, by frequent incursions into their territories, and by putting numbers of them to death in the most inhuman manner [*k*].

[*k*] Helmoldi Chron. Slavorum. lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 52.—Adam. Bremens. Histor. lib. ii. cap. xxvii.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy during this Century.

The state of learning among the Greeks.

I. THE declining condition of the Grecian empire was fatal to the progress of letters and philosophy. Its glory and power diminished from day to day under the insults and usurpations of the Turks and Saracens; and while the empire suffered by these attacks from without, it was consumed gradually by the internal pestilence of civil discord, by frequent seditions and conspiracies, and by those violent revolutions which shook from time to time the imperial throne, and were attended with the sudden fall and elevation of those that held the reigns of government [*a*]. So many foreign invasions, so many internal troubles, so many emperors dethroned, deprived the political body of its strength and consistence, broke in upon the public order, rendered all things precarious, and dejecting the spirits of the nation, damped the fire of genius, and discouraged the efforts of literary ambition. There were, however, some emperors, such as Alexius Comnenus, who seemed to cherish and encourage the drooping sciences, and whose zeal was seconded by several prelates, who were

☞ [*a*] The sentence which begins with the words, so many foreign, and ends with the words, literary ambition, is added by the translator to render the connexion with what follows more evident.

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willing to lend a supporting hand to the cause of letters. The controversies also that subsisted between the Greeks and Latins obliged the former, amidst all their disadvantages, to a certain degree of application to study, and prevented them from abandoning entirely the culture of the sciences. And hence it is, that we find among the Greeks of this century some writers, at least, who have deserved well of the republic of letters.

The principal Greek writers.

II. We pass in silence the poets, rhetoricians, and philologists of this century, who were neither highly eminent, nor absolutely contemptible. Among the writers of history, Leo the grammarian, John Scylizes, Cedrenus, and a few others, deserve to be mentioned with a certain degree of approbation; notwithstanding the partiality with which they are chargeable, and the zeal they discover for many of the fabulous records of their nation. But the greatest ornament of the republic of letters at this time was Michael Psellus, a man illustrious in every respect, and deeply versed in all the various kinds of erudition that were known in this age. This great man recommended warmly to his countrymen the study of philosophy, and particularly the system of Aristotle, which he embellished and illustrated in several learned and ingenious productions [*b*]. If we turn our eyes towards the Arabians, we shall find that they still retained a high degree of zeal for the culture of the sciences; as appears evidently from the number of physicians, mathematicians, and astronomers, who flourished among them in this century [*c*].

The state of letters in the west.

III. The arts and sciences seemed, in some measure, to revive in the west, among the clergy,

[*b*] Leo Allatius, Diatriba De Psellis, p. 14. edit. Fabricii.

[*c*] Elmacini Historia Saracen. p. 281.—Jo. Henr. Hottingeri Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xi. p. 449.

at least, and the monastic orders; they were not, indeed, cultivated by any other set of men, and the nobility, if we except such of them as were designed to fill certain ecclesiastical dignities, or had voluntarily devoted themselves to a religious solitude, treated all sorts of learning and erudition with indifference and contempt. The schools of learning flourished in several parts of Italy about the year 1050; and of the Italian doctors, who acquired a name by their writings or their academical lessons, several removed afterwards into France, and particularly into Normandy, where they instructed the youth who had consecrated themselves to the service of the church [*d*]. The French also, though they acknowledge their obligations to the learned Italians who settled in their provinces, yet give us, at the same time, a considerable list of their countrymen, who, without any foreign succours, cultivated the sciences, and contributed not a little to the advancement of letters in this century; they mention also several schools erected in different parts of that kingdom, which were in the highest reputation, both on account of the fame of their masters, and the multitude of disciples that resorted to them [*e*]. And, indeed, it is certain, beyond all contradiction, that the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated in France, which abounded with learned men, while the greatest part of Italy lay as yet covered with a thick cloud of ignorance and darkness. For Robert, king of France, son and successor of Hugh Capet, disciple of the famous

[*d*] See Muratori, Antiquitates Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 871.—Giannone, Histoire de Naples, tom. ii. p. 148.

[*e*] Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. vii. at the Introduction.—Du Boulay, Hist. Academ. Paris, tom. i. p. 355.—Le Bœuf, Diss. sur l'Etat des Sciences en France depuis la Mort du Roi Robert, which is published among his Dissertations sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Paris, tom. ii. part I.

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Gerbert, afterwards Sylvester II. and the great protector of the sciences, and friend of the learned, reigned so early as the year 1031 [*f*], and exerted upon all occasions the most ardent zeal for the restoration of letters; nor were his generous efforts without success [*g*]. The provinces of Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, and other southern parts of Italy, were indebted, for the introduction of the sciences among them, to the Normans, who became their masters, and who brought with them from France the knowledge of letters to a people that sat benighted in the darkest ignorance. To the Normans also was due the restoration of letters in England. William the Conqueror, a prince of uncommon sagacity and genius, and the great Mæcenas of his time, upon his accession to the throne of England in the year 1066, engaged, by the most alluring solicitations, a considerable number of learned men from Normandy, and other countries, to settle in his new dominions, and exerted his most zealous endeavours to dispel that savage ignorance, that is always a source of innumerable evils [*h*]. The reception of Christianity had polished and civilized, in an extraordinary manner, the rugged minds of the valiant Normans; for those fierce warriors, who, under the darkness of paganism, had manifested the utmost aversion to all branches of knowledge and every kind of instruction, distinguished themselves, after their conversion, by their ardent

☞ [*f*] Robert died in the year 1031, after a reign of thirty-five years.

[*g*] Daniel, Histoire de la France, tom. iii. p. 58.—Du Boulay, Hist. Academ. Paris, tom. i. p. 636, *et passim*.

[*h*] See Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. viii. p. 171.—"The English," says Matthew Paris, "were so illiterate and ignorant before the time of William the Conqueror, that a man who understood the principles of grammar was universally looked upon as a prodigy of learning."

application to the study of religion and the pursuit of learning. CENT. XI. PART II.

IV. This vehement desire of knowledge, that increased from day to day, and became, at length, the predominant passion of the politest European nations, produced many happy effects. To it, more particularly, we must attribute the considerable number of public schools that were opened in various places, and the choice of more able and eminent masters than those who had formerly presided in the seminaries of learning. Towards the conclusion of the preceding age, there were no schools in Europe but those which belonged to monasteries, or episcopal residences, nor were there any other masters, except the Benedictine monks, to instruct the youth in the principles of sacred and profane erudition. But, not long after the commencement of this century, the face of things was totally changed, and that in a manner the most advantageous to the cause of letters. In many cities of France and Italy, learned men, both among the clergy and laity, undertook the weighty and important charge of instructing the youth, and succeeded much better in this worthy undertaking than the monks had done; not only by comprehending in their course of instruction more branches of knowledge than the monastic doctors were acquainted with, but also by teaching in a better method, and with more perspicuity and success, many of the same branches of science, which the others had taught before them. The most eminent of these new masters were such as had either travelled into Spain with a view to study in the schools of the Saracens (which was extremely customary in this age among those that were ambitious of a distinguished reputation for wisdom and knowledge), or had improved their stock of erudition and philosophy by a diligent and attentive perusal of the

Schools opened in several places.

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writings of the Arabians, of which a great number were translated into Latin. For with these foreign succours they were enabled to teach philosophy, mathematics, physic, astronomy, and the other sciences that are connected with them, in a much more learned and solid manner than the monks, or such as had received their education from them alone. The school of Salernum, in the kingdom of Naples, was renowned above all others for the study of physic in this century, and vast numbers crowded thither from all the provinces of Europe to receive instruction in the art of healing: but the medical precepts which rendered the doctors of Salernum so famous were all derived from the writings of the Arabians, or from the schools of the Saracens in Spain and Africa [*i*]. It was also from the schools and writings of the Arabian sages that the absurd and puerile tricks of divination, and the custom of foretelling future events from the position of the stars, the features of the face, and the lines of the hand, derived their origin. These ridiculous practices, proceeding from so respectable a source, and moreover adapted to satisfy the idle curiosity of impatient mortals, were carried on in all the European nations; and in process of time the pretended sciences of astrology and divination acquired the highest reputation and authority.

The sciences that were taught in these schools.

V. The seven liberal arts, as they were now styled, were taught in the greatest part of the schools that were erected in this century for the education of youth. The first stage of these sciences was grammar, which was followed succes-

[*i*] Muratori, Antiq. Ital. tom. iii. p. 935.—Giannone, Hist. de Naples, tom. ii. p. 151.—Freind's History of Physic.—It is well known that the famous precepts of the school of Salernum, for the preservation of health, were composed in this century, at the request of the king of England.

sively by rhetoric and logic. When the disciple, having learned these three branches, which were generally known by the name of trivium, extended his ambition farther, and was desirous of new improvement in the sciences, he was conducted slowly through the quadrivium [*k*] to the very summit of literary fame. But this method of teaching, which had been received in all the western schools, was considerably changed towards the latter end of this century. For as the science of logic, under which metaphysics were in part comprehended, received new degrees of perfection from the deep meditations and the assiduous industry of certain acute thinkers, and was taught with more detail and subtilty than in former times, the greatest part of the studious youth became so enamoured of this branch of philosophy, as to abandon grammar, rhetoric, and all the other liberal arts, that they might consecrate their whole time to the discussion of logical questions, and the pursuit of metaphysical speculations. Nor was this surprising, when we consider, that, according to the opinion which now prevailed in the republic of letters, a man who was well versed in dialectics, *i. e.* in logical and metaphysical knowledge, was reputed sufficiently learned, and was supposed to stand in need of no other branches of erudition [*l*]. Hence that contempt of languages and eloquence,

☞ [*k*] The trivium was a term invented in the times of barbarism to express the three sciences that were first learned in the schools, *viz.* grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the schools, in which these sciences alone were taught, were called triviales. The quadrivium comprehended the four mathematical sciences, *viz.* arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.

[*l*] See Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 408, 409. 511, 512.—This is too likely to become the prevailing taste even in our times: but it is an ancient taste, as we may easily perceive by casting an eye upon the literary history of the eleventh century. And to confirm still farther the truth of that vulgar saying, that there is nothing new under the sun, we shall

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of the more elegant sciences, and the finer arts, which spread its baneful influence through the Latin provinces; and hence that barbarism and pedantic sophistry that dishonoured, in succeeding ages, the republic of letters, and corrupted, in a most hideous manner, the noble simplicity of true theology, and the purest systems of philosophical wisdom.

Dialectic or logic in high repute.

VI. The philosophy of the Latins, in this century, was absolutely confined within the circle of dialects; while the other philosophical sciences were scarcely known by name [*m*]. This dialectic,

quote the following passage from the Metalogicum of John of Salisbury, a writer of no mean abilities, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 741. edit. Lugdun. Bat. 1639. "Poetæ, Historiographi, habebantur infames, et si quis incumbebat laboribus antiquorum, notabatur ut non modo asello Arcadiæ tardior, sed obtusior plumbo vel lapide, omnibus erat in risum.—Suis enim, aut magistri sui, quisquis incumbebat inventis.—Fiebant ergo summi repente philosophi: nam qui illiteratus accesserat, fere non morabatur in scholis ulterius quam eo curriculo temporis, quo avium pulli plumescunt.—Sed quid docebant novi doctores, et qui plus somniorum quam vigiliarum in scrutinio philosophiæ consumserant? Ecce nova fiebant omnia: innovabatur grammatica, immutabatur dialectica, contemnebatur rhetorica, et novas totius quadrivii vias, evacuatis priorum regulis, de ipsius philosophiæ adytis proferebant. Solam convenientiam, sive rationem loquebantur, argumentum sonabat in ore omnium—ac ineptum nimis aut rude et a philosopho alienum, impossibile credebatur convenienter et ad rationis normam quicquam dicere aut facere, nisi convenientis et rationis mentio expressim erat inserta." Many more passages of this nature are to be found in this author.

[*m*] We shall, indeed, find many, in the records of this century, honoured with the title of Philosopher. Thus we hear of Manegoldus the Philosopher, Adalardus the Philosopher, &c. But we must not attribute to the term philosopher, when applied to these grammarians, the sense which it bore among the ancient Greeks and Latins, and which it still bears in our times. In the style of, what we call, the middle age, every man of learning, of whatever kind his erudition might be, was called a philosopher, and this title was also given to the interpreters of scripture, though that set of men were, generally speaking, destitute of true philosophy. See the

indeed, was miserably dry and barren, as long as it was drawn from no other source than the ten categories falsely attributed to St. Augustin, or from the explications of the Aristotelian philosophy, composed by Porphyry and Averroes. These, however, were the only guides which the schools had to follow in the beginning of this century; nor had the public teachers either genius or courage enough to enlarge the system, or to improve upon the principles of these dictators in philosophy, whose authority was treated as infallible, and their productions, for a long time, regarded as perfect, to the great detriment of true science. But, about the year 1050, the face of philosophy began to change, and the science of logic assumed a new aspect. This revolution began in France, where several of the books of Aristotle had been brought from the schools of the Saracens in Spain, and it was effected by a set of men highly renowned for their abilities and genius, such as Berenger, Roscellinus, Hildebert, and after them by Gilbert de la Porre, the famous Abelard, and others. These eminent logicians, though they followed the Stagirite as their guide, took, nevertheless, the liberty to illustrate and model anew his philosophy, and to extend it far beyond its ancient limits.

VII. The philosophers of this age, who were most famous for their zealous and successful endeavours to improve the science of logic, and accommodate it to general use, were Lanfranc, an Italian by birth, who was abbot of St. Stephens at

Chronicon Salernitanum in Muratorii Scriptor. Rerum Italicar. tom. ii. part II. cap. cxxiv. p. 265. where we are told, that in the tenth century, in which the sciences were almost totally extinguished in Italy, there were thirty-two philosophers at Benevento. We learn, however, by what follows, that these philosophers were partly grammarians, and partly persons who were more or less versed in certain liberal arts.

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Caen in Normandy, and was called from thence, by William the Conqueror to the see of Canterbury, Anselm his successor, and Odo, whose last promotion was the bishopric of Cambray. Lanfranc was so deeply versed in this science, that he was commonly called the Dialectician; and he employed with great dexterity the subtilties of logic in the controversy which was carried on between him and the learned Berenger, against whom he maintained the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy sacrament. Anselm, in a very learned dialogue De Grammatico, throws much light upon the darkness and perplexity in which the science of logic had lain so long involved; and, among other things, investigates, with no small sagacity, the nature of substance, and mode or quality, in order to convey juster notions of these metaphysical entities than had been hitherto entertained [*n*]. This great prelate, who shone with a distinguished lustre in several branches of literature, both sacred and profane, was the first of the Latin doctors who dispelled the clouds of ignorance and obscurity that hung over the important sciences of metaphysic and natural theology, as appears from two books of his composition, wherein the truths concerning the Deity, which are deducible from the mere light of nature, are enumerated and explained with a degree of sagacity, which could not well be expected from a writer of this century. He was the inventor of that famous argument, vulgarly and erroneously attributed to Descartes, which demonstrates the existence of God from the idea of an infinitely perfect Being naturally implanted in the mind of man, and which is to be found, without exception, in the breast of every mortal.

[*n*] This dialogue is to be found in the works of Anselm, published by father Gerberon, tom. i. p. 143.

The solidity of this argument was, indeed, called in question, almost as soon as it was proposed, by Gaunilo, a French monk, whose objections were answered by Anselm, in a treatise professedly written for that purpose [o]. Odo, the third restorer of logic, whom we mentioned above, taught that science with the greatest applause, and illustrated it in three learned productions, which have not survived the ruins of time [p].

Disputes among the logicians, Nominalists, and Realists.

VIII. The restoration of logic was immediately followed by a vehement dispute between its restorers and patrons, concerning the object of that science; such was the term employed by the contending parties. This controversy, which was long agitated in the schools, was in its nature ex-

[o] Gaunilo's Treatise is to be found in the works of Anselm, with the answer of that learned prelate. ☞ As Anselm makes such a shining figure in the literary history of England, it will not be improper to add here a more ample account of his character and writings than that which is given by Dr. Mosheim. His life and manners were without reproach, though his spiritual ambition exposed him justly to censure. His works are divided into three parts. The first contains his dogmatical tracts, and begins with a discourse concerning the Existence of God, the Divine Attributes, and the Trinity. This discourse is called Monologia, because it is drawn up in the form of a soliloquy. In this first part of the works of Anselm, there are many curious researches upon subjects of a very difficult and mysterious nature, such as the Fall of Satan, the Reason why God created Man, the Doctrine of Original Sin, and the Manner of its Communication to Adam's Posterity, the Liberty of the Will, and the Consistency of Freedom with the Divine Prescience. The second and third parts of the writings of this eminent prelate contain his practical and devotional performances, such as Homilies, Poems, Prayers, &c. and his Letters, which are divided into four books.

[p] The titles of these three treatises are as follows, De Sophista, De Complexionibus, De Re et Ente. The learned Heriman, in his Narratio Restaurationis Abbatiæ Sti. Martini Tornacensis, which is published in Dacherius' Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter. tom. ii. p. 889. speaks of Odo in the following honourable manner: "Cum Odo septem liberalium artium esset peritus, præcipue tamen in dialectica eminebat, et pro ipsa maxime clericorum frequentia eum expetebat."

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tremely trivial and unimportant; but, considered in its consequences, it became a very serious and weighty affair: since the disputants on both sides made use of their respective opinions in explaining the doctrines of religion, and reciprocally loaded each other with the most odious invectives and the most opprobrious accusations. In one point only they were unanimous, acknowledging that logic or dialectic had for its essential object the consideration of universals in their various relations and points of comparison, since particular and individual things, being liable to change, could not be the objects of a sure and immutable science. But the great question was, whether these universals, which came within the sphere of logical inquiries, belonged to the class of real things, or to that of mere denominations? One set of these subtile disputants maintained, that universals were undoubted realities, and supported their hypothesis by the authority of Plato, Boetius, and other ancient sages; the other affirmed, that they were mere words and outward denominations, and pleaded in behalf of their cause the respectable suffrages of Aristotle and Porphyry. The former were called Realists, on account of their doctrine, and the latter Nominalists, for the same reason. Each of the contending parties were, in process of time, subdivided into various sects, on account of the different ways in which many explained the doctrine that was the badge and characteristic of their sect [q]. This controversy

[q] The learned Brucker, in his Historia Critica Philosophiæ, tom. iii. p. 904. gives an ample account of the sect of the Nominalists, and enlarges a good deal upon the nature and circumstances of this logical contest: he also mentions the various writers, who have made this sect and its doctrine the object of their researches. Among these writers, the principal was John Salabert, presbyter in the diocese of Agen, who published at Paris, in the year 1651, in 8vo. a treatise entitled Philosophia Nominalium

made a prodigious noise in all the schools throughout Europe during many succeeding ages, and produced often unhappy contentions and animosities between philosophers and divines. Some are of opinion, that it derived its origin from the disputes that were carried on between Berenger and his adversaries, concerning the eucharist [r]; a notion which, though it be advanced without authority, is yet by no means destitute of probability, since the hypothesis of the Nominalists might be very successfully employed in defending the doctrine of Berenger, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

IX. The sect of the Nominalists had for their chief a certain person called John, who, on account of his logical subtilty, was surnamed the Sophist, which is the only circumstance we know of his history [s]. His principal disciples were

Vindicata. This book, which is extremely rare, has been seen by none of the authors who have written professedly concerning the sect of the Nominalists. A copy of it, taken from a manuscript in the French king's library, was communicated to me, from which it appears, that Salabert, who was certainly a very acute and ingenious logician, employed his labour rather in defending the doctrine of the Nominalists, than in giving an accurate account of their sect. There are, however, several things to be found in his book, which are far from being generally known, even among the learned.

[r] Du Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 443.—Gerh. du Bois, Histor. Ecclesias. Paris. tom. i. p. 770.

[s] This account we have from the unknown author of the Fragmentum Historiæ Francicæ à Roberto rege ad mortem Philippi I. which is published in Du Chesne's Scriptores Historiæ Francicæ, tom. iv. p. 90. whose words are as follows: "In Dialectica hi potentes extiterunt Sophistæ, Johannes, qui artem Sophisticam vocalem esse disseruit," &c.—Du Boulay (Hist. Academ. Paris. tom. i. p. 443. et 612.) conjectures that this John the Sophist was the same person with John of Chartres, surnamed the Deaf, who was first physician to Henry I. king of France, and had acquired a great degree of renown by his genius and erudition. The same author (p. 377.) tells us, that John had for his master Giraldus of Orleans, who was an incomparable

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Robert of Paris, Roscelin of Compeigne, and Arnoul of Laon, who propagated his doctrine with industry and success, to whom we may add, with some probability, Raimbert, the master of a famous school at Lisle in Flanders, who is said, according to the quibbling humour of the times, to have read nominal logic to his disciples, while Odo, whom we have already had occasion to mention, instructed his scholars in reality [*t*]. The most renowned of all the nominal philosophers of this age was Roscelin; and hence it is that many have considered him as the chief and founder of that sect, and that he is still considered as such by several learned men.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government during this Century.

The corruption of the clergy.

I. All the records of this century loudly complain of the vices that reigned among the rulers of the church, and, in general, among all the sacerdotal orders; they also deplore that universal decay of piety and discipline, that was the consequence of this corruption in a set of men, who were bound to support, by their example, their authority, and

poet, and an excellent rhetorician, but he advances this without any proof. Mabillon, on the other hand, in his Annal. Benedict. tom. v. lib. lxvii. sect. lxxviii. p. 261. supposes, that John the Nominalist was the same person who made known to Anselm the error of Roscelinus concerning the Three Persons in the Godhead.

[*t*] The passage in the original is: "Qui dialecticam clericis suis in voce legebat, quum Odo in re discipulis legeret." See Herimannus, Histor. Restaurationis Monasterii Sti. Martini Tornacens. in Dacherii Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor. tom. ii. p. 889.

their instructions, the sacred interests of religion and virtue. The western bishops were no sooner elevated to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with ample territories, than they gave themselves up entirely to the dominion of pleasure and ambition, and wholly employed in displaying the magnificence of their temporal stations, frequented the courts of princes, accompanied always with a splendid train of attendants and domestics [*u*]. The inferior orders of the clergy were also licentious in their own way; few among them preserved any remains of piety and virtue, we might add, of decency and discretion. While their rulers were wallowing in luxury, and basking in the beams of worldly pomp and splendour, they were indulging themselves, without the least sense of shame, in fraudulent practices, in impure and lascivious gratifications, and even in the commission of the most flagitious crimes. The Grecian clergy were somewhat less chargeable with these shocking irregularities, as the calamities under which their country groaned imposed a restraint upon their passions, and gave a check to their licentiousness. Yet, notwithstanding these salutary restraints, there were few examples of piety and virtue to be found among them.

The authority of the Roman pontiffs.

II. The authority and lustre of the Latin church, or, to speak more properly, the power and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, arose in this century to the highest period, though they arose by degrees, and had much opposition and many difficulties to conquer. In the preceding age the

[*u*] See among other examples of this episcopal grandeur, that of Adalbert, in Adam Bremens. lib. iii. cap. xxiii. p. 38. lib. iv. cap. xxxv. p. 52. that of Gunther, in the Lectiones Antiquæ of Canisius, tom. iii. part I. p. 185. and that of Manasses, in the Museum Italicum of Mabillon, tom. i. p. 114. Add to all these Muratorii Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. vi. p. 72.

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pontiffs had acquired a great degree of authority in religious matters, and in every thing that related to the government of the church; and their credit and influence increased prodigiously towards the commencement of this century. For then they received the pompous titles of masters of the world, and popes, *i. e.* universal fathers; they presided also every where in the councils by their legates; assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies that arose concerning religion or church discipline; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against the encroachments and usurpations of kings and princes. Their authority, however, was confined within certain limits; for, on the one hand, it was restrained by sovereign princes, that it might not arrogantly aim at civil dominion; and on the other, it was opposed by the bishops themselves, that it might not arise to a spiritual despotism, and utterly destroy the liberty and privileges of synods and councils [*w*]. From the time of Leo IX. the popes employed every method which the most artful ambition could suggest, to remove these limits, and to render their dominion both despotic and universal. They not only aspired to the character of supreme legislators in the church, to an unlimited jurisdiction over all synods and councils, whether general or provincial, to the sole distribution of all ecclesiastical honours and benefices as divinely authorised and appointed for that purpose, but they carried their insolent pretensions so far as to give themselves out for

[*w*] The very learned Launoy (in his Assertio contra Privilegium Sti. Medardi, part II. cap. xxxi. opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 307), has given us an accurate account of the ecclesiastical laws, and of the power of the hierarchy, during this century, which he collected from the letters of Pope Gregory VII. from which account it appears, that Gregory, ambitious as he was, did not pretend to a supreme and despotic authority in the church.

lords of the universe, arbiters of the fate of kingdoms and empires, and supreme rulers over the kings and princes of the earth. Before Leo IX. no pope was so enormously impudent as to claim this unbounded authority, or to assume the power of transferring territories and provinces from their lawful possessors to new masters. This pontiff gave the example of such an amazing pretension to his holy successors, by granting to the Normans, who had settled in Italy, the lands and territories which they had already usurped, or were employed in forcing out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens [*x*]. The ambition, however, of the aspiring popes was opposed by the emperors, the king of France, by William the Conqueror, who was now seated on the throne of England, and was the boldest assertor of the rights and privileges of royalty against the high claims of the apostolic see [*y*], and also by several other princes,

[*x*] See Gaufr. Malaterra Hist. Sicula, lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 553. tom. v. Scriptor. Ital. Muratorii. ☞ The translator has here incorporated the note [*s*] of the original into the text.

[*y*] See Eadmeri Historia Novorum, lib. i. p. 29. which is published at the end of the works of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. It is proper to observe here, that if it is true on the one hand, that William the Conqueror opposed, on many occasions, with the utmost vehemence and zeal, the growing power of the Roman pontiffs, and of the aspiring bishops; it is no less certain, on the other, that, to accomplish his ambitious views, he, like many other European princes, had recourse to the influence of the pontiffs upon the minds of the multitude, and thereby nourished and encouraged the pride and ambition of the court of Rome. For while he was preparing all things for his expedition into England, he sent ambassadors to Pope Alexander II., "in order (as Matthew Paris says, Hist. Major, lib. i. p. 2.) to have his undertaking approved and justified by apostolical authority; and the pope having considered the claims of the contending parties, sent a STANDARD to William as the omen of his approaching royalty." It is highly probable, that the Normans in Italy had made the same humble request to Leo IX., and demanded his confirma-

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Nor did the bishops, particularly those of France and Germany, sit tamely silent under the papal yoke; many of them endeavoured to maintain their rights and the privileges of the church: but as many seduced by the allurements of interest or the dictates of superstition, sacrificed their liberties, and yielded to the pontiffs; hence it happened, that these imperious lords of the church, though they did not entirely gain their point, nor satisfy to the full their raging ambition, yet obtained vast augmentations of power, and extended their authority from day to day.

III. The see of Rome, after the death of Sylvester II. which happened in the year 1003, was filled successively by John XVII. John XVIII. and Sergius IV. none of whose pontificates were distinguished by any memorable events; it is, however, proper to observe, that these three popes were confirmed in the see of Rome by the approbation and authority of the emperors under whose reign they were elected to that high dignity. Benedict VIII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1012, being obliged by his competitor Gregory to leave Rome, fled into Germany for succour, and threw himself at the feet of Henry II. by whom he was reinstated in the apostolic chair, which he possessed in peace until the year 1024. It was during his pontificate, that those famous Normans, who make such a shining figure in history, came into Italy, and reduced several of its richest provinces under their dominion. Benedict was succeeded by his brother John XIX. who ruled

tion both of the possessions they had acquired, and of those they designed to usurp. And when we consider all this, it will not appear so surprising that the popes aimed at universal empire, since they were encouraged to this by the mean submissions and servile homage of the European princes.

the church until the year 1033. The five pontiffs we have now been mentioning were not chargeable with dishonouring their high station by that licentiousness and immorality that rendered so many of their successors infamous; their lives were virtuous; at least their conduct was decent. But their examples had little effect upon Benedict IX. a most abandoned profligate, and a wretch capable of the most horrid crimes, whose flagitious conduct drew upon him the just resentment of the Romans, who in the year 1038 degraded him from his office. He was afterwards indeed restored, by the emperor Conrad, to the papal chair; but instead of learning circumspection and prudence from his former disgrace, he grew still more scandalous in his life and manners, and so provoked the Roman people by his repeated crimes, that they deposed him a second time, A. D. 1044, and elected in his place John, bishop of Sabina, who assumed the name of Sylvester III. About three months after this new revolution, the relations and adherents of Benedict rose up in arms, drove Sylvester out of the city, and restored the degraded pontiff to his forfeited honours, which, however, he did not enjoy long; for perceiving that there was no possibility of appeasing the resentment of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to John Gratian, arch-presbyter of Rome, who took the name of Gregory VI. Thus the church had, at the same time, two chiefs, Sylvester and Gregory, whose rivalry was the occasion of much trouble and confusion. This contest was terminated in the year 1046, in the council held at Sutri by the emperor Henry III. who so ordered matters, that Benedict, Gregory, and Sylvester were declared unworthy of the pontificate, and Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, was raised to that dig-

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nity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of Clement II. [z].

IV. After the death of Clement II. which happened in the year 1047, Benedict IX. though twice degraded, aimed anew at the papal dignity, and accordingly forced himself into St. Peter's chair for the third time. But the year following he was obliged to surrender the pontificate to Poppo, bishop of Brixen, known by the name of Damasus II. whom Henry II. elected pope in Germany, and sent from thence into Italy to take possession of that dignity. Upon the death of Damasus, who ruled the see of Rome, but three and twenty days, the same emperor, in the diet held at Worms, A. D. 1048, appointed Bruno, bishop of Toul, to succeed him in the pontificate. This prelate is known in the list of the popes by the name of Leo IX. and his private virtues, as well as his public acts of zeal and piety in the government of the church, were deemed meritorious enough to entitle him to a place among the saintly order. But if we deduce from these pretended virtues his vehement zeal for augmenting the opulence and authority of the church of Rome, and his laudable severity in correcting and punishing certain enormous vices [a], which were common among the clergy during his

[z] In this compendious account of the popes, I have followed the relations of Francis and Anthony Pagi, Papebrock, and also those of Muratori, in his Annales Italiæ, persuaded that the learned and judicious reader will justify my treating with the utmost contempt what Baronius and others have alleged in favour of Gregory VI.

☞ [a] In several councils which he assembled in Italy, France, and Germany, he proposed rigorous laws against simony, sodomy, incestuous and adulterous marriages, the custom of carrying arms that was grown universal among the clergy; the apostasy of the monks, who abandoned their habit and renounced their profession, &c.

pontificate, there will remain little in the life and administration of this pontiff, that could give him any pretension to such a distinction. It is, at least, certain, that many, who industriously conceal or excuse the numerous infirmities and failings of the pontiffs, censure, with the utmost freedom, the temerity and injustice of the measures he took towards the conclusion of his days. Such, among others, was the war which he inconsiderately entered into, in the year 1053, with the Normans, whose neighbourhood he did not like, and whom he was grieved to see in the possession of Apulia. His temerity, indeed, was severely punished by the issue of this war, from which he derived the bitterest fruits, being taken prisoner by the enemy, and led captive to Benevento. Here dismal reflections upon his unhappy fate preyed upon his spirits, and threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness; so that after a year's imprisonment he was sent to Rome, where he concluded his days on the 19th of April, A. D. 1054 [*b*].

V. After the death of Leo the papal chair was filled, in the year 1055, by Gebhard, bishop of Eichstadt, who assumed the name of Victor II. and after governing the church about three years, was succeeded by Stephen IX., brother to Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, who died a few months after his election. Nothing memorable happened under the administration of these two pontiffs. Gerrard, bishop of Florence, who obtained the papacy, A. D. 1058, and took the name of Nicolas II., makes a greater figure in history than several of his predecessors [*c*]. We pass in silence

[*b*] See the Acta Sanctorum ad d. xix. Aprilis, tom. iii. p. 642.—Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. vii. p. 459.—Giannone, Hist. de Naples, tom. ii. p. 52.

[*c*] Besides the accounts given of Nicolas II. by the writers of the papal history, there is a particular and accurate history of this pontiff drawn up by the Benedictine monks, in the Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. vii. p. 515.

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John, bishop of Veletri, who usurped the pontificate, as also the title of Benedict X. after the death of Stephen, and who was deposed with ignominy, after having possessed about nine months the dignity, to which he had no other title, than what he derived from lawless violence. Nicolas, upon the removal of this usurper, assembled a council at Rome, A. D. 1059, in which, among many salutary laws designed to heal the inveterate disorders that had afflicted the church, one remarkable decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman pontiff; this alteration was designed to prevent the tumults and commotions which arose in Rome, and the factions which divided Italy, when a new pope was to be elected. The same pontiff received the homage of the Normans, and solemnly created Robert Guiscard duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on condition that he should observe, as a faithful vassal, an inviolable allegiance to the Roman church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgment of his subjection to the apostolic see. By what authority Nicolas confirmed the Norman prince in the possession of these provinces, is more than we know; certain it is, that he had no sort of property in the lands which he granted so liberally to the Normans, who held them already by the odious right of conquest [*d*]. Perhaps the lordly pontiff founded this right of cession upon the fictitious donation of Constantine, which has been already taken notice of in the course of this history; or, probably, seduced by the artful and ambitious suggestions of Hildebrand, who had himself an eye upon the pontificate, and afterwards filled it, in effect, under the adopted name of Gregory VII. he imagined

[*d*] See Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 186.—Baronius, Annal. ad a. 1060.

that, as Christ's vicegerent, the Roman pontiff was the king of kings, and had the whole universe for his domain. It is well known that Hildebrand had a supreme ascendant in the counsels of Nicolas, and that the latter neither undertook nor executed any thing without his direction. Be that as it may, it was the feudal grant made to Guiscard by this pope, that laid the foundation of the kingdom of Naples, or of the two Sicilies, and of the sovereignty over that kingdom which the Roman pontiffs constantly claim, and which the Sicilian monarchs annually acknowledge.

The privileges of the cardinals in the election of the pope.

VI. Before the pontificate of Nicolas II., the popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the cardinals, but also by those of the whole Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the assembly of the people. An election, in which such a confused and jarring multitude was concerned, could not but produce continual factions, animosities, and tumults. To prevent these, as far as was possible, this artful and provident pontiff had a law passed, by which the cardinals, as well presbyters as bishops, were empowered, upon a vacancy in the see of Rome, to elect a new pope, without any prejudice to the ancient privileges of the Roman emperors in this important matter [*e*]. Nor were the rest of the clergy, with the

☞ [*e*] It does not appear that Nicolas was at all solicitous about the privileges of the emperor, and his authority in the election of the bishop of Rome; for the words of the decree in all the various copies of it are to this import: "The cardinals shall first deliberate concerning the election of a pontiff, and the consent of the other clergy and of the people shall be required to confirm their choice. The pope shall be chosen out of the members that compose the church of Rome, if a proper person can be found among them: if not, he shall be elected elsewhere. All this without any prejudice to the honour of our dear son Henry (who is now king, and shall be soon emperor, as we have already promised

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burgesses and people, excluded from all part in this election, since their consent was solemnly demanded, and also esteemed of much weight [*f*]. In consequence, however, of this new regulation, the cardinals acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontiff; though they suffered for

him), or to the honour of his successors on whom the apostolic see shall confer personally and successively the same high privilege." Here we see the good pontiff taking manifestly advantage of the minority of Henry IV. to depreciate and diminish the ancient prerogatives of the imperial crown, and to magnify the authority of the papal mitre: for he declares as a personal right granted by the Roman see to each emperor for himself, the privilege of confirming the pope's election; whereas it is well known that that privilege had been vested in the emperors of Germany during many preceding ages. See Fleury, Eccles. Hist. vol. xiii. livre lx. p. 64, 65. Brussels edition.—It is proper to observe here, that the cringing and ignoble submission of Charles the Bald, who would not accept of the title of emperor before it was conferred upon him by the Roman pontiff, occasioned, in process of time, that absurd notion, that the papal consecration was requisite in order to qualify the kings of Germany to assume the title of Roman emperors, though, without that consecration, these kings had all Italy under their dominion, and exercised in every part of it the various rights and prerogatives of sovereignty. Hence the kings of Germany were first styled kings of the Franks and Lombards, afterwards kings of the Romans until the year 1508, when Maximilian I. changed the title of king into that of emperor.

[*f*] The decree of Nicolas concerning the election of the Roman pontiff is to be found in many authors, and particularly in the Concilia. But upon comparing together several copies of this famous decree, I found them in many respects very different from each other. In some copies the decree appears abridged; in others it is long and prolix. In some it seems favourable to the rights and privileges of the Roman emperors; in others, it appears to have the contrary tendency. The most ample copy is that which we find in the Chronicon Farfense in Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. part II. p. 645, which differs however, in various circumstances, from that which is published by Hugo Floriacensis, in his book De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate, in Baluzii Miscellaneis, tom. iv. p. 62. Notwithstanding the diversity that there is in the copies of this famous decree, they all agree in confirming the accounts we have given of the plans and pontificate of Nicolas.

a long time much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election of every new pope by their approbation and consent. In the following century there was an end put to all these disputes by Alexander III. who was so lucky as to finish and complete what Nicolas had only begun, and who transferred and confined to the college of cardinals the right of electing to the apostolic see, excluding the nobility, the people, and the rest of the clergy, from all concern in this important matter [*g*].

It may not be improper here to give some account of the origin of the cardinals [*h*], and the nature of their privileges and functions. Many writers [*i*] have treated this subject in an ample manner, and have shed upon it a profusion of erudition, which deserves, no doubt, the highest applause; but they are, generally speaking, defective in perspicuity and precision; nor do I know of any, who have confined themselves to the true state of the question, and investigated, in a satis-

[*g*] See Mabillon, Comm. in Ord. Roman. tom. ii. Musei Italici. p. 114.—Constant. Cenni Præf. ad Concilium Lateran. Stephani. iii. p. 18. Rom. 1735, in 4to.—Franc. Pagi Breviarium Pontif. Romanor. tom. ii. p. 374.

[*h*] The translator has here incorporated into the text the long and important note [*c*] of the original concerning the cardinals. The citations and references only are thrown into the notes.

[*i*] The authors who have written concerning the name, origin, and rights of the cardinals, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his Bibliogr. Antiquar. p. 455, 456.—Casp. Sagittarius, Introd. ad Historiam Ecclesiast. cap. xxix. p. 771. et Jo. And. Schmidius in Supplement, p. 644.—Christ. Gryphius, Isagoge ad Historiam Sæculi xvii. p. 430. add to these Ludov. Thomassini, Disciplina Ecclesiæ Vetus et Nova, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. 115, 116. p. 616. et Lud. Ant. Muratori, whose learned dissertation De Origine Cardinalatus is published in his Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 156.

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factory manner, the true origin of the office of cardinal, and the reasons that occasioned the institution of that order of ecclesiastics. Several learned men have employed much time and labour in fixing the sense of the word cardinal, and in illustrating its meaning from ancient monuments and records; but, however worthy of a curious philologist these researches may be, yet they contribute little or nothing to clear up the point in question, or to convey an accurate and satisfactory notion of the true origin of the college of cardinals, and the nature of that ecclesiastical dignity. It is certain, that the word cardinal, when applied to persons or things, or more especially to the sacred order, was, according to the language of the middle age, a term of dubious signification, and was susceptible of various senses. It is also well known, that in former times this title was by no means peculiar to the priests and ministers of the church of Rome, but was in use in all the Latin churches, and that not only the secular clergy, but also the regular, such as abbots, canons, and monks, were capable of this denomination, and were styled cardinals, though in different senses. But after the pontificate of Alexander III. the common use of the term cardinal was gradually diminished, and it was confined to such only as were immediately concerned in the election of the pope, and who had the right of suffrage in this weighty matter. So that when we inquire into the origin of the college of cardinals at Rome, the question is not, who they were that in the remoter periods of the church were distinguished, among the Latins in general, or at Rome in particular, from the rest of the clergy, by the name of cardinals; nor do we inquire into the proper signification of that term, or into the various senses in which it was formerly employed; the true state of the question is this: Who the persons were that Nicolas II. com-

prehended under the denomination of cardinals, when he vested in the Roman cardinals alone the right of electing the new pontiff, and excluded from that important privilege the rest of the clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the people? When this is known with certainty, then we shall have a just notion of the college of cardinals in its first rise, and shall also perceive the difference there is between the first cardinals and those of our times. Now this may easily be learned from the edict of Nicolas II. which sets the matter in the clearest light. "We have thought proper to enact (says the pontiff), that, upon the decease of the bishop of the Roman catholic, or universal church, the affair of the election be treated principally and previously to all other deliberations, among the cardinal bishops alone, who shall afterwards call into their council the cardinal clerks, and require finally the consent of the rest of the clergy, and the people to their election [*k*]." Here we see, that the pontiff divides into two classes the cardinals who were to have the right of suffrage in the election of his successors, one of which he calls cardinal bishops, and the other cardinal clerks. By the former we are manifestly to understand the seven bishops, who belonged to the city and territory of Rome, whom Nicolas calls, in the same edict, Comprovinciales Episcopi (an epithet which had been used before by Leo I.), and who had been distinguished by the title of cardinal bishops long before the present century. The words of Nicolas confirm this account of the matter, and place it beyond all possibility of contradiction; for

☞ [*k*] The passage of the edict (which we have here translated from Hugo Floriacus in Baluzii Miscell. tom. iv. p. 62.) runs thus in the original: "Constituimus ut, obeunte hujus Romanæ universalis Ecclesiæ Pontifice, imprimis, Cardinales Episcopi diligentissima simul consideratione tractantes, mox sibi Clericos Cardinales adhibeant, sicque, reliquus Clerus et Populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedant."

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he declares, that by cardinal bishops he understands those to whom it belonged to consecrate the pontiff elect; "Since the apostolic see," observes the papal legislator, "cannot be under the jurisdiction of any superior or metropolitan [*l*], the cardinal bishops must necessarily supply the place of a metropolitan, and fix the elected pontiff on the summit of apostolic exaltation and empire [*m*]." Now it is well known, that the seven bishops of Rome, above mentioned, had the privilege of consecrating the Roman pontiff.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive the true nature and meaning of the famous edict, according to which it is manifest, that, upon the death of a pontiff, the cardinal bishops were first to deliberate alone concerning a proper successor, and to examine the respective merit of the candidates that might pretend to this high dignity, and afterwards to call in the cardinal clerks, not only to demand their counsel, but also to join with them in the election. The word clerk here bears the same sense with that of presbyter, and it is undeniably certain that the name of cardinal presbyters was given to the ministers of the eight-and-twenty Roman parishes, or principal churches. All the rest of the clergy, of whatever order or rank they might be, were, together with the people, expressly excluded from the right of voting in the election of the pontiff, though they were allowed what is called a negative suffrage, and their consent was required to what the others had done. From all which it

☞ [*l*] In the consecration of a new bishop in any province, the metropolitan always bore the principal part; as therefore there was no metropolitan to instal the pope, the cardinal bishops performed that ceremony.

[*m*] Such are the swelling and bombastic terms of the edict: "Quia sedes apostolica super se metropolitanum habere non potest; cardinales episcopi metropolatini vice procul dubio fungantur, qui electum antistatem ad apostolici culminis apicem provehant."

appears, that the college of electors, who chose the Roman pontiff, and who after this period were called cardinals in a new and unusual acceptation of that term, consisted, according to their original establishment, by Nicolas II. of only two orders, namely, cardinal bishops and cardinal clerks, or presbyters [*n*].

It is necessary to observe, before we finish this digression, that the famous decree of Nicolas could not obtain the force of a law. "It is evident," says Anselm, bishop of Lucca [*o*], "that the edict of Nicolas is, and always has been, without the smallest degree of weight or authority. But in affirming this, I have not the least design to cast any reflection upon the blessed memory of that pontiff, or to derogate from the applause that is due to his virtues.... As a man, however, he was fallible, and, through the weakness that is inseparable from humanity, was liable to be seduced into measures that were inconsistent with equity and justice." It is true,

[*n*] We must therefore take care that we be not misled by the error of Onuphr. Panvinius, who affirms,* that the cardinal bishops were not added to the college of cardinals before the pontificate of Alexander III. Nor are we to listen to the supposition of those writers, who imagine that certain deacons were, from the beginning, members of that college of cardinals, by whom the popes were elected. There were indeed, in the Roman church long before the edict of Nicolas, and there still remain, cardinal deacons, *i. e.* superintendants of those churches, which have hospitals annexed to them, and whose revenues are appropriated to the support of the poor; but they were evidently excluded from the election of the pope, which, by the edict of Nicolas, was to be made by the cardinal bishops and clerks alone. Hence we find the cardinals plainly distinguished from the deacons in the diploma that was drawn up for the election of Gregory VII. to the pontificate.

[*o*] Anselmi Luccensis lib. ii. contra Wibertum, Antipapam, et sequaces ejus, in Canisii Lectionib. Antiquis, tom. iii. part I. p. 383.

* See Mabillon, Comment. in Ordinem Rom. p. 115. tom. ii. Musei Italici.

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the prelate has here principally in view that part of the edict in which Nicolas acknowledges and confirms the right of the emperors to ratify the election of the Roman pontiff; yet what he says is undoubtedly true of the whole edict in all its parts. For the seven Palatine judges [*p*], who were excluded by this decree from the important privilege they had formerly enjoyed of voting in the election to the apostolic see, complained loudly of the injury that was done them, and, seconded in their complaints by the various orders of the clergy, and by the clamours of the army, the citizens, and the multitude, they declared their opposition to the execution of this edict, and gave much trouble and uneasiness to the cardinals, who had been constituted electors by Nicolas. To appease these tumults, Alexander III. augmented the college of the electing cardinals, by conferring that dignity upon the prior, or arch-presbyter, of St. John Lateran, the arch-presbyter of St. Peter's and St. Mary Maggiore, the abbots of St. Paul's and St. Laurence without the wall, and lastly, upon the seven Palatine judges [*q*]. By this dexterous stratagem, the higher order of the clergy was defeated, and ceased to oppose the measures of the cardinal electors; nor, indeed, could their opposition be of any significancy, since their chiefs and leaders were become members of the sacred college instituted by Nicolas. The inferior clergy continued yet obstinate; but their opposition was vanquished in the same manner, and they were reduced to silence by the promo-

[*p*] These judges were the Primicerius, Secundicerius, Arcarius, Saccellarius, Protoscriniarius, Primicerius Defensorum, et Adminiculator: for a particular account of whose respective offices, services, and privileges, see Grævii Thesaurus Antiquit. Du Cange, &c.

[*q*] Cenni Præf. ad Concil. Lateran. Stephan. iii. p. 19.—Mabillon, Comment. ad Ord. Roman. p. 115. ex Panvinio.

tion of their chiefs, the cardinal deacons, to the dignity of electors. Who it was, whether Alexander III., or some other pontiff, that raised the principal Roman deacons to the rank of cardinals, is not certain; but nothing is more evident than that the design of this promotion was to put an end to the murmurs and complaints of the inferior clergy, who resented highly the violation of their privileges.

When the various orders of the clergy were drawn off from the opposition, it was no difficult matter to silence the people, and to exclude them from all part in the election of the pontiff. And accordingly, when, upon the death of Alexander III. it was proposed to choose Lucius III [r], as his successor, the consent and approbation of the clergy and people, which had hitherto been always esteemed necessary to ratify the election, were not so much as demanded, and the affair was transacted by the college of cardinals alone, who have continued to maintain that exclusive and important privilege even to our times. Some writers affirm, that Innocent II. had been elected in the same manner, by the cardinals alone, without the consent of the clergy or the people, several years before the pontificate of Lucius [s]; this may be true, but it is nothing to the purpose; for as the election of Innocent II. was irregular, it cannot be alleged in the case before us.

VII. From what has been observed in the preceding section, we may conclude, that the college of cardinals, and the extensive authority and important privileges they enjoy at this day, derive their origin from the edict published at the request and under the pontificate of Nicolas II.;

☞ [r] In the original, instead of Lucius III. we read Victor III. which was certainly a mistake of inadvertency in the learned author.

[s] See Pagi Breviar. Pontif. Romanor. tom. ii. p. 615.

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that, under the title of cardinals, this pontiff comprehended the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as his suffragans, and of whom the bishop of Ostia was the chief, as also the eight and twenty ministers, who had inspection over the principal Roman churches; and that to these were added, in process of time, under Alexander III. and other pontiffs, new members, in order to appease the resentment of those who looked upon themselves as injured by the edict of Nicolas, and also to answer other purposes of ecclesiastical policy. We see, also, from an attentive view of this matter, that though the high order of purpled prelates, commonly called cardinals, had its rise in the eleventh century, yet it does not seem to have acquired the stable and undisputed authority of a legal counsel before the following age and the pontificate of Alexander III.

VIII. Though Nicolas II. had expressly acknowledged and confirmed in his edict the right of the emperor to ratify by his consent the election of the pontiff; his eyes were no sooner closed, than the Romans, at the instigation of Hildebrand, archdeacon, and afterwards bishop of Rome, violated this imperial privilege in the most presumptuous manner. For they not only elected to the pontificate Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II., but also solemnly installed him in that high office without so much as consulting the emperor Henry IV., or giving him the least information of the matter. Agnes, the mother of the young emperor, no sooner received an account of this irregular transaction by the bishops of Lombardy, to whom the election of Anselm was extremely disagreeable, than she assembled a council at Basil, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, who was yet a minor,

caused Cadolaus, bishop of Parma, to be created pontiff under the title of Honorius II. Hence arose a long and furious contest between the two rival pontiffs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms, and presented a scene of bloodshed and horror in the church of Christ, which was designed to be the centre of charity and peace. In this violent contention Alexander triumphed, though he could never engage his obstinate adversary to desist from his pretensions [*t*].

Hildebrand raised to the pontificate.

IX. This contest, indeed, was of little consequence when viewed in comparison with the dreadful commotions which Hildebrand, who succeeded Alexander, and assumed the name of Gregory VII. excited both in church and state, and nourished and fomented until the end of his days. This vehement pontiff, who was a Tuscan, born of mean parents, rose by various steps, from the obscure station of a monk of Clugni, to the rank of archdeacon in the Roman church, and from the time of Leo IX. who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman pontiffs by his counsels, which had acquired the highest degree of influence and authority. In the year 1073, and the same day that Alexander was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, and, consequently, without any regard being paid to the edict of Nicolas II. and his election was confirmed by the approbation and consent of Henry IV. king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. This prince, indeed, had soon reason to

[*t*] Ferdin. Ughelli Italia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 166.—Jo. Jac. Mascovius, De Rebus Imperii sub Henrico IV. et V. lib. i. p. 7.—Franc. Pagi Breviar. Pontificum Romanor. tom. ii. p. 385.—Muratori Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 214.

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repent of the consent he had given to an election, which became so prejudicial to his own authority, so fatal to the interests and liberties of the church, and so detrimental, in general, to the sovereignty and independence of kingdoms and empires [*u*]. Hildebrand was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour, and invincible perseverance; void of all principle, and destitute of every pious and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits, from the dictates of religion or the remonstrances of conscience. Such was the character of Hildebrand, and his conduct was every way suitable to it; for no sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannic ambition. Not contented to enlarge the jurisdiction, and to augment the opulence of the see of Rome, he laboured indefatigably to render the universal church subject to the despotic go-

[*u*] The writers who have given the amplest accounts of the life and exploits of Gregory VII. are enumerated by Casp. Sagittarius, in his Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. i. p. 687. and by And. Schmidius, in his Supplement. tom. ii. p. 627.—See also the Acta Sanctor. tom. v. Maii ad d. xxv. p. 568. and Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ordin. Benedicti Sæcul. vi. p. 406. Add to these the Life of Gregory VII. published at Francfort in the year 1710, by Just. Christopher Dithmar, as also the authors who have written the history of the contests that arose between the Empire and the Hierarchy of Rome, and of the wars that were occasioned by the disputes concerning Investitures.

vernment and the arbitrary power of the pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the church. Nay, this outrageous pontiff went still farther, and impiously attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the see of Rome. Such were the pious and apostolic exploits that employed the activity of Gregory VII. during his whole life, and which renders his pontificate a continual scene of tumult and bloodshed. Were it necessary to bring any further proofs of his tyranny and arrogance, his fierce impetuosity and boundless ambition, we might appeal to those famous sentences, which are generally called, after him, the dictates of Hildebrand, and which show, in a lively manner, the spirit and character of this restless pontiff [*w*].

[*w*] Dictatus Hildebrandini. By these are understood twenty-seven apophthegms, or short sentences, relating to the supreme authority of the Roman pontiffs over the universal church, and the kingdoms of the world, which are to be found in the second book of the Epistles of Gregory VII. between the fifty-fifth and the fifty-sixth Epistle, under the title of Dictatus Papæ, *i. e.* Dictates of the Pope. See Harduini Concilia, tom. vi. part I. p. 1304, and the various writers of Ecclesiastical History. Baronius Lupus,* and other historians, who have signalized, upon all occasions, their vehement attachment to the Roman pontiffs, maintain, that these Dictates were drawn up by Gregory VII. and proposed as laws in a certain council; and hence the Protestant writers have ventured to attribute them to Hildebrand. But the learned John Launoy, Natalis Alexander, Anthony† and Francis Pagi,‡ Elias du Pin, and other authors of note,

* Lupus, in his Notæ et Dissertationes in Concilia, tom. vi. opp. p. 164. has given us an ample commentary on the Dictates of Hildebrand, which he looks upon as both authentic and sacred.

† See Anton. Pagi Critica in Baronium.

‡ See Franc. Pagi Breviar. Pontif. Roman. tom. ii. p. 473.

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His exploits.

X. Under the pontificate of Hildebrand, the face of the Latin church was entirely changed, its government subverted, and the most important and valuable of those rights and privileges that had been formerly vested in its councils, bishops, and sacred colleges, were usurped by the greedy pontiff. It is, however, to be observed, that the weight of this tyrannic usurpation did not fall equally upon all the European provinces; several of these provinces preserved some remains of their ancient liberty and independence, in the

affirm in the most positive manner that these sentences, or dictates, were a downright forgery imposed upon the world under the name of Gregory, by some perfidious impostor, who proposed thereby to flatter the Roman pontiffs in their ambitious pretensions. As a proof of this assertion, they observe, that while some of these sentences express indeed in a lively manner the ambitious spirit of Gregory, there are others which appear entirely opposite to the sentiments of that pontiff, as they are delivered in several parts of his Epistles. The French writers have important reasons (which it is not necessary to mention here) for affirming that no Roman pontiff ever presumed to speak of the papal power and jurisdiction in such arrogant terms as are here put into the mouth of Gregory. It may be easily granted, that these sentences, in their present form, are not the composition of this famous pontiff; for many of them are obscure, and they are all thrown together without the least order, method, or connexion, and it is not to be imagined, that a man of such genius, as Gregory discovered, would have neglected either perspicuity or precision, in describing the authority, and fixing what he looked upon to be the rights and privileges of the bishops of Rome. But, notwithstanding all this, if we consider the matter of these sentences, we shall be entirely persuaded that they belong originally to Hildebrand, since we find the greatest part of them repeated word for word in several places in his Epistles, and since such of them as appear inconsistent with some passages in these Epistles are not so in reality, but may be easily explained in perfect conformity with what they are said to contradict. The most probable account of the matter seems to be this: That some mean author extracted these sentences, partly from the epistles of Gregory that are yet extant, partly from those that have perished in the ruins of time, and published them in the form in which they now appear, without judgment or method.

possession of which a variety of circumstances happily concurred to maintain them.

But, as we insinuated above, the views of Hildebrand were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the church; they aimed also at the establishment of a civil monarchy equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring pontiff, after having drawn up a system of ecclesiastical canons for the government of the church, would have introduced also a new code of political laws, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed. His purpose was to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to St. Peter, *i. e.* to the Roman pontiffs, all the kings and princes of the earth, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms or sovereign states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. This ambitious project met, however, with the warmest opposition, particularly from the vigilance and resolution of the emperors, and also from the British and French monarchs [*x*].

That Hildebrand laid this audacious plan is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles, and also from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he drew up for the king or emperor of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance [*y*] shows abundantly the arrogance of

☞ [*x*] The long note [*g*] in the original, which contains the ambitious exploits of Hildebrand, is inserted in the following paragraph, except the citations, which are thrown into notes.

[*y*] See the ninth book of his epistles, Epist. iii. The form of the oath runs thus: "Ab hac hora et deinceps fidelis ero per rectam fidem B. Petro Apostolo, ejusque vicario Papæ Gregorio et quodcunque ipse Papa præceperit sub his videlicet verbis: PER VERAM OBEDIENTIAM, fideliter, sicut

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his pretensions. But his conduct towards the kingdom of France is worthy of particular notice. It is well known, that whatever dignity and dominion the popes enjoyed was originally derived from the kingdom of France, or, which is the same thing, from the princes of that nation; and yet Hildebrand, or (as we shall hereafter entitle him) Gregory VII. pretended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the see of Rome, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute [z]; their demands, however, were treated with contempt, and the tribute was never either acknowledged or offered. Nothing can be more insolent than the language in which Gregory addressed himself to Philip I. king of France, to whom he recommended an humble and obliging carriage, from this consideration, that both his kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of St. Peter (*i. e.* his vicar the Roman pontiff), who had the power to bind and to loose him, both in heaven and upon earth [a]. Nothing escaped the all-grasping ambition of Gregory; he pretended that Saxony was a feudal tenure held in subjection to the see of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne as a

oportet Christianum, observabo. Et eo die, quando eum primitus videro, fideliter per manus meas miles Sancti Petri et ILLIUS efficiat." What is this else than a formal oath of allegiance?

[z] Epist. lib. viii. ep. xxiii. in Harduin's Concilia, tom. vi. p. 1476. "Dicendum autem est omnibus Gallis et per veram obedientiam præcipiendum, ut unaquæque domus saltem unum denarium annuatim solvat Beato Petro, si eum recognoscant patrem et pastorem suum more antiquo." Every one knows that the demand that was made with the form, per veram obedientiam, was supposed to oblige indispensibly.

[a] Lib. vii. epist. xx. in Harduin's Concilia, tom. vi. p. 1468. "Maxime enitere ut B. Petrum, in cujus potestate est regnum tuum et anima tua, qui te potest in cœlo et in terra ligare et absolvere, tibi facias debitorem."

pious offering to St. Peter. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, maintaining, in one of his letters [*b*], that it was the property of the apostolic see from the earliest times of the church, yet acknowledging in another [*c*], that the transaction by which the successors of St. Peter had acquired this property, had been lost among other ancient records. His claims, however, were more respected in Spain than they had been in France; for it is proved most evidently by authentic records, that the king of Arragon, and Bernhard, count of Besalu, gave a favourable answer to the demands of Gregory, and paid him regularly an annual tribute [*d*]; and their example was followed by other Spanish princes, as we could show, were it necessary, by a variety of arguments. The despotic views of this lordly pontiff were attended with less success in England than in any other country. William the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a sovereign and independent monarch; and accordingly, when Gregory wrote him a letter demanding the arrears of the Peter-pence [*e*],

[*b*] Lib. x. ep. vii. "Regnum Hispaniæ ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri fuisse et soli Apostolicæ sedi ex æquo pertinere."

[*c*] Lib. x. epist. xxviii.

[*d*] See Petrus de Marca, Histoire de Bearn, lib. iv. p. 331, 332.

[*e*] Peter-pence (so called from its being collected on the festival of St. Peter in Vinculis) was an ancient tax of a penny on each house, first granted in the year 725, by Ina, king of the West Saxons, for the establishment and support of an English college at Rome, and afterwards extended, in the year 794, by Offa, over all Mercia and East Anglia. In process of time it became a standing and general tax throughout all England; and though it was for some time applied to the support of the English college, according to its original design, the popes found means to appropriate it to themselves. It was confirmed by the laws of Canute, Edward the Con-

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and at the same time summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of England, as a fief of the apostolic see. William granted the former, but refused the latter [*f*] with a noble obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only and his own sword. Obliged to yield to the obstinacy of the English monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless pontiff addressed his imperious mandates where he imagined they would be received with more facility. He wrote circular letters to all the most powerful German princes [*g*], to Geusa, king of Hungary [*h*], and Sueno, or Swein, king of Denmark [*i*], soliciting them to make a solemn grant of their kingdoms and territories to the prince of the apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction of his vicar at Rome, as fiefs of the apostolic see. What success attended his demands upon these princes, we cannot say; but certain it is, that in several places his efforts were

fessor, William the Conqueror, &c. and was never totally abolished till the reign of Henry VIII.

[*f*] The letter of William is extant in the Miscellanea of Baluzius, tom. vii. p. 127. as also in Collier's Ecclesiastical History, in the Collection of Records, at the end of the first volume, p. 713. No. 12. "Hubertus legatus tuus (says the resolute monarch to the audacious pontiff) admonuit me, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, et de pecunia, quam antecessores mei ad ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. FIDELITATEM FACERE, NOLUI NEC VOLO," &c.

[*g*] See in Harduin's Concilia, his famous letter (lib. ix. epist. iii.) to the bishop of Padua, exhorting him to engage Welpho, duke of Bavaria, and other German princes, to submit themselves and their dominions to the apostolic jurisdiction. "Admonere te volumus (says the pontiff) Ducem Welphonem, ut fidelitatem B. Petro faciat... Illum enim totum in gremio Beati Petri collocare desideramus et ad ejus servitium specialiter provocare. Quam voluntatem si in eo, vel etiam in aliis potentibus viris amore B. Petri ductis cognoveris, ut perficiant elabora."

[*h*] Lib. ii. ep. lxx. [*i*] Lib. ii. ep. li.

effectual, and his modest proposals were received with the utmost docility and zeal. The son of Demetrius, king of the Russians, set out for Rome, in consequence of the pontiff's letter [*k*], in order to obtain, as a gift from St. Peter, by the hands of Gregory, after professing his subjection and allegiance to the prince of the apostles, the kingdom, which was to devolve to him upon the death of his father; and his pious request was readily granted by the officious pope, who was extremely liberal of what did not belong to him. Demetrius Suinimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was raised to the rank and prerogatives of royalty by the same pontiff in the year 1076, and solemnly proclaimed king by his legate at Salona, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. Peter at every Easter festival [*l*]. This bold step was injurious to the authority of the emperors of Constantinople, who, before this time, comprehended the province of Croatia within the limits of their sovereignty. The kingdom of Poland became also the object of Gregory's ambition, and a favourable occasion was offered for the execution of his iniquitous views; for Basilaus II. having assassinated Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, the pontiff not only excommunicated him with all the circumstances of infamy that he could invent, but also pulled him from his throne, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken, and, by an express and imperious edict, prohibited the nobles and clergy of Poland from electing a new king without the consent of the Roman pontiff [*m*]. Many more examples might be alleged of the phrenetic ambition of Gregory, but those

[*k*] Lib. ii. ep. lxxiv.

[*l*] See Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. i. part I. n. 88. p. 53....Jo. Lucius, De Regno Dalmatiæ, lib. ii. p. 85.

[*m*] See Dlugossi Histor. Polon. tom. i. p. 295.

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which have been already mentioned are sufficient to excite the indignation of every impartial reader. Had the success of that pontiff been equal to the extent of his insolent views, all the kingdoms of Europe would have been this day tributary to the Roman see, and its princes the soldiers or vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his pretended vicar upon earth. But though his most important projects were ineffectual, yet many of his attempts were crowned with a favourable issue; for, from the time of his pontificate, the face of Europe underwent a considerable change, and the prerogatives of the emperors and other sovereign princes were much diminished. It was, particularly, under the administration of Gregory, that the emperors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying, by their consent, the election of the Roman pontiff; a privilege of no small importance, and which as yet they have never recovered.

XI. The zeal and activity which Gregory employed in extending the jurisdiction of the Roman see, and enriching the patrimony of St. Peter, met, no where, with such remarkable success as in Italy. His intimate familiarity with Mathilda, the daughter of Boniface, duke of Tuscany, and the most powerful and opulent princess in that country (who found by experience that neither ambition nor grace had extinguished the tender passions in the heart of Gregory), contributed much to this success; for he engaged that princess, after the death of her husband Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, and her mother Beatrix, which happened in the years 1076 and 1077, to settle all her possessions in Italy and elsewhere upon the church of Rome, and thus to appoint St. Peter and his pretended vicar the heirs of her immense treasures. This rich donation was, indeed, considerably invalidated by the second marriage, which Mathilda contracted, in the year 1089,

with Welph, or Guelph, the son of the duke of Bavaria, and that with the consent of the Roman pontiff, Urban II. She, however, renewed it in a solemn manner in the year 1102, about seven years after her separation from her second husband, by which she became again sole mistress of her vast possessions [*n*]. But, notwithstanding this new act, the Roman pontiffs did not remain in the peaceful possession of this splendid inheritance. It was warmly and powerfully disputed, first by the emperor Henry V. and afterwards by several other princes; nor were the pontiffs so successful in this contest as to preserve the whole inheritance, though, after various struggles and efforts, they remained in the possession of a considerable part of it, which they still enjoy [*o*].

[*n*] The life and exploits of this heroic princess (who was one of the strongest bulwarks of the Roman church against the power of the emperors, and the most tender and obedient of all the spiritual daughters of Gregory VII.) has been written by Bened. Luchinus, Domin. Mellinus, Felix Contelorius, Julius de Puteo, but more amply by Francis Maria Florent, in his Records concerning the Countess Mathilda, written in Italian, and Bened. Bachinius, in his Historia Monasterii Podalironensis. The famous Leibnitz, in his Scriptoris Brunsvic. tom. i. p. 629. and Lud. Ant. Muratori, in his Scriptores Rerum Italic. tom. v. p. 335, have published, with annotations, the ancient histories of the life of Mathilda, composed by Donizo, and another writer, whose name is unknown, together with the copy of the second act of cession, by which that princess confirmed her former grant to the church of Rome. We may add here, that nothing relating to this extraordinary woman is more worthy of perusal than the accounts that we find of her, and her second husband, in the Origines Guelphicæ, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 444. et tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 303.

[*o*] Many learned men conclude from the very act by which this donation was confirmed to the see of Rome, that Mathilda comprehended in this donation only her allodial possessions, and not the territories which she held as fiefs of the empire, such as the marquisate of Tuscany, and the duchy of Spoleto. For the words of the act run thus: "Ego Mathildis... dedi et obtuli ecclesiæ S. Petri... omnia mea bona jure proprietario, tam quæ

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The decrees of Gregory VII.

XII. The plan that Gregory had formed for raising the church above all human authority, to a state of perfect supremacy and independence, had many kinds of opposition to encounter, but none more unsurmountable than that which arose from the two reigning vices of concubinage and

tunc habueram, quam ea, quæ in antea acquisitura eram, sive jure successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertineant." See the Origines Guelphicæ, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 448. But it is much to be questioned, whether this distinction is so evident as is pretended. For the words "jure proprietario," from which it is inferred that Mathilda disposed of only her allodial possessions in favour of St. Peter, do not, in my opinion, relate to the possessions of the testatrix, but to the nature of the gift, and must be interpreted in conjunction with the preceding verbs, "dedi et obtuli." For the princess does not say, "dedi omnia bona quæ jure proprietario possideo et habeo," *i. e.* "I have granted that part of my property which I hold by a supreme and independent right," in which case the opinion of the learned men above-mentioned would be well founded, but she says, "dedi omnia bona mea ecclesiæ proprietario," *i. e.* "my will is, that the church shall possess as its own property the inheritance I have left it." Besides, the following words manifestly show that the opinion of these learned men is destitute of all foundation; since Mathilda could not possibly add, "sive jure successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertineant," *i. e.* "I grant all my possessions, under whatever title I enjoy them, whether by right of succession, or by any other right," &c. had she designed to confine her donation to her allodial possessions. Certain it is, that in this ample grant she excepts no particular part of her property, but evidently comprehends in it her whole substance. If it be objected to this, that the Roman pontiffs never affirmed that the fiefs of the empire, which Mathilda possessed, were comprehended in this grant to their church, and that they only claimed her allodial and independent possessions; I answer, by questioning the fact, since many circumstances concur to prove, that these pontiffs claimed the whole substance of Mathilda, all her possessions, without exception, as their undoubted right. But suppose for a moment that the case was otherwise, and that the Roman church had never made such an universal claim, this would, by no means, invalidate the opinion I here maintain; since the question under consideration is not, how far the Roman pontiffs may have moderated their pretensions to the territories of Mathilda, but what is the true and genuine sense of the words in which her donation is expressed.

simony, that had infected the whole body of the European clergy. The Roman pontiffs from the time of Stephen IX. had combated, with zeal and vehemence, these monstrous vices [*p*], but

[*p*] Monstrous vices we may justly call them. For though it be true, that in the methods Gregory took to extirpate these vices, he violated not only the laws of religion, but also the dictates of natural equity and justice, and, under the mask of a pious zeal, committed the most crying and abominable enormities; yet it is certain, on the other hand, that these vices produced the most unhappy effects both in church and state, and that the suppression of them was now become absolutely necessary. There were, indeed, among the clergy several men of piety and virtue, who lived in the bonds of wedlock, and these Gregory ought to have spared. But there was also a prodigious number of ecclesiastics throughout Europe, not only of priests and canons, but also of monks, who lived in the bonds of a criminal love, kept, under the title of wives, mistresses, which they dismissed at pleasure, to enjoy the sweets of a licentious variety, and who not only spent, in the most profuse and scandalous manner, the revenues and treasures of the churches and convents to which they belonged, but even distributed a great part of them among their bastards. As to the vice of simony, its universal extent and its pernicious fruits appear evidently from those records, which the Benedictine monks have published in several places of their Gallia Christiana, not to mention a multitude of other ancient papers to the same purpose. One or two examples will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of this matter. We find in the first volume of the admirable work now mentioned (in the Append. Document. p. 5.) a public act by which Bernard a viscount, and Froterius bishop of Alby, grant, or rather sell, openly to Bernard Aimard and his son the bishopric of Alby, reserving to themselves a considerable part of his revenues. This act is followed by another, in which count Pontius bequeaths to his wife the same bishopric of Alby in the following terms: "Ego Pontius dono tibi dilectæ sponsæ meæ episcopatum Albiensem—cum ipsa ecclesia et cum omni adjacentia sua—et medietatem de episcopatu Nemauso—et medietatem de abbatia Sti. Ægidii—post obitum tuum remaneat ipsius alodis ad infantes qui de me erunt creati."—In the second volume of the same learned work, (in the Append. Document. p. 173.) there is a letter of the clergy of Limoges, beseeching William, count of Aquitain, not to sell the bishopric, but to give them a pastor, and not a devourer of the flock. "Rogamus tuam pietatem, ne propter mundiale lucrum vendas Sti. Stephani locum, quia

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without success, as they were become too inveterate and too universal to be extirpated without the greatest difficulty and the most extraordinary efforts. Accordingly Gregory, in the year 1074, which was the second of his pontificate, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors had done in opposition to the vices already mentioned. For this purpose he assembled a council at Rome, in which all the laws of the former pontiffs against simony were renewed and confirmed, and the buying or selling ecclesiastical benefices prohibited in the strictest and severest manner. It was also decreed in the same council, that the sacerdotal order should abstain from marriage; and that such of them as had already wives, or concubines, should immediately dismiss them, or quit the priestly office. These decrees were accompanied with circular letters, wrote by the pontiff to all the European bishops, enjoining the strictest obedience to the decisions of this solemn council, under the severest penalties. Gregory did not stop here, but sent ambassadors into Germany to Henry IV. king of the Romans, in

si tu vendis episcopalia, ipse nostra manducabit communia.... Mitte nobis ovium custodem, non devoratorem." Ademar, viscount of Limoges, laments (tom. ii. p. 179.) that "he himself had formerly made traffic of the cure of souls by selling benefices to simoniacal abbots." The barefaced impudence of the sacerdotal orders, in buying and selling benefices, exceeded all measure, and almost all credibility. And they carried matters so far as to justify that abominable traffic, as may be seen in a remarkable passage in the Apologeticum of Abbo, which is added by Pithou, to the Codex. Can. Ecclesiæ Romanæ; this passage, which deserves to be quoted, is as follows: "Nihil pene ad ecclesiam pertinere videtur, quod ad pretium non largiatur, scilicet episcopatus, presbyteratus, diaconatus, et aliqui minores gradus, archidiaconatus quoque, decania, præpositura, thesauri custodia, baptisterium —et hujusmodi negotiatores, subdola responsione solent astruere, non se emere benedictionem, quâ percipitur gratia Spiritus Sancti, sed res ecclesiarum vel possessiones episcopi." An acute distinction truly!

order to engage that prince to summon a council for the trial and punishment of such ecclesiastics as had been hitherto guilty of simoniacal practices.

XIII. These decrees, which were in part equitable and just, and which were, in every respect, conformable with the notions of religion that prevailed in this age, were looked upon by the people as highly salutary, since they rendered a free election, and not a mercenary purchase, the way to ecclesiastical promotion, and obliged the priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly considered as inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. Yet both these decrees were attended with the most deplorable tumults and dissensions, and were fruitful, in their consequences, of innumerable calamities. No sooner was the law concerning the celibacy of the clergy published, than the priests, in the several provinces of Europe, who lived in the bonds of marriage with lawful wives, or of lasciviousness with hired concubines [q], complained loudly of the

The severe proceedings of the pontiff against concubinage produce much trouble.

[q] All the historians who give an account of this century mention the tumults excited by such priests as were resolved to continue with their wives or concubines. For an account of the seditions which arose in Germany, upon this occasion, see Sigonius De Regno Italiæ, lib. ix. p. 557. tom. ii. as also Tengnagel's Collectio Veter. Monument. p. 45. 47. 54. Those that the priests excited in England are mentioned by M. Paris, in his Histor. Major, lib. i. p. 7. The tumults occasioned by the same reason in the Belgic and Gallic provinces are described in the Epistola Clericorum Cameracensium ad Remenses pro uxoribus suis, published in Mabillon's Annal. Benedictin. tom. v. p. 634, and in the Epistola Noviomensium Clericorum ad Cameracenses, published in Mabillon's Museum Italicum, tom. i. p. 128. Great was the flame which the laws of Gregory excited in Italy, and particularly in the province of Milan, of which we have an ample relation, given by Arnulph and Landulph, two Milanese historians, whose works are published with annotations, by Muratori, in his Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. iv. p. 36. Both these historians maintain, against Gregory and his successors, the cause of the injured priests, and the lawfulness of their marriages.

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severity of this council, and excited the most dreadful tumults in the greatest part of the European provinces. Many of these ecclesiastics, especially the Milanese priests, choose rather to abandon their spiritual dignities than their sensual pleasures, and to quit their benefices that they might cleave to their wives. They went still farther: for they separated themselves entirely from the church of Rome, and branded with the infamous name of Paterini [r], *i. e.* Mani-

[r] Paterinus is one of the names by which the Paulicians or Manichæans (who came during this century from Bulgaria into Italy, and were also known by the title of Catheri or Pure) were distinguished among the Italians. But in process of time the term Paterinus became a common name for all kinds of heretics, as we might show by many examples taken from the writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There are various opinions concerning the origin of this word, the most probable of which is, that which supposes it derived from a certain place called Pataria, in which the heretics held their assemblies; and it is well known, that a part of the city of Milan is, to this very day, called Pataria, or Contrada de Patarri. See Adnotat. ad Arnulphum Mediolanens. in Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italicar. tom. iv. p. 39. see also Saxius ad Sigonium de Regno Italiæ, lib. ix. p. 536. tom. ii. opp. Sigonii. An opinion (of which, if I am not mistaken, Sigonius was the author) prevailed, that the name in question was given to the Milanese priests, who separated from the church of Rome, and retained their wives in opposition to the laws of the pontiffs. But this opinion is without foundation; and it appears evidently from the testimony of Arnulph and other historians, that it was not the married priests, but the faction of the pontiffs, who condemned their conjugal bonds, that were branded with the opprobrious name of Paterini. See Arnulph. lib. iii. c. x.—Anton. Pagi Crit. in Ann. Bar. tom. iii. ad. a. 1057, sec. iii. Lud. Ant. Muratori Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 82. who have demonstrated this in the most ample, learned, and satisfactory manner. Nor need we, indeed, look any where else for the origin of this word. It is abundantly known, that the Manichæans and their brethren the Paulicians, were extremely averse to marriage, which they looked upon as an institution invented by the evil principle; they, of consequence, who considered the marriages of the clergy as lawful, employed the ignominious name of Paterini, to show that the pontiffs, who prohibited these marriages, were followers of the odious doctrine of the Manichæans.

chæans, the pontiff and his adherents, who condemned so unjustly the conduct of such priests as entered into the bonds of a lawful and virtuous wedlock. The proceedings of Gregory appeared to the wiser part, even of those who approved of the celibacy of the clergy, unjust and criminal in two respects: First, in that his severity fell indiscriminately, and with equal fury, upon the virtuous husband and the licentious rake; that he dissolved, with a merciless hand, the chastest bonds of wedlock, and thus involved husbands and wives, with their tender offspring, in disgrace, perplexity, anguish, and want [*s*]. The second thing criminal in the measures taken by this pontiff was, that, instead of chastising the married priests with wisdom and moderation, and according to the laws of ecclesiastical discipline, whose nature is wholly spiritual, he gave them over to the civil magistrate, to be punished as

[*s*] We must always remember that the priests, to whom their wives or mistresses were much dearer than the laws of the pontiffs, were not all of the same character; nor were such of them as might be justly esteemed criminal, all criminal in the same degree. The better sort of these ecclesiastics (among which we may count the Belgic and Milanese clergy) desired nothing more than to live after the manner of the Greeks, maintaining that it was lawful for a priest, before his consecration, to marry one virgin, though a plurality of wives was justly prohibited; and they grounded this their opinion upon the authority of St. Ambrose. See Jo. Petri Puricelli Dissertatio utrum S. Ambrosius clero suo Mediolan. permiserit, ut virgini semel nubere possent, republished by Muratori, in his Scriptores Italic. tom. iv. p. 123. Gregory and his successors ought to have dealt more gently with this kind of ecclesiastics (as the warmest admirers of the pontiffs acknowledge) than with those priests who were either the patrons of concubinage, or who pretended to justify their espousing a plurality of wives. It was also unjust to treat in the same manner the monks, who by the nature of their profession and vows, were necessarily excluded from the nuptial state; and the priests, who could not bear the thoughts of being torn from the chaste partners of their bed, whom they had espoused with virtuous sentiments and upright intentions, nor from the tender offspring which were the fruit of virtuous love.

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disobedient and unworthy subjects, with the loss of their substance, and with the most shocking marks of undeserved infamy and disgrace [*t*].

The dispute concerning investitures occasioned by the laws against simony.

XIV. This vehement contest excited great tumults and divisions, which, however, were gradually calmed through length of time, and also by the perseverance of the obstinate pontiff; nor did any of the European kings and princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the clergy as to maintain their cause, and thereby to prolong the controversy. But the troubles that arose from the law that regarded the extirpation of simony were not so easily appeased; the tumults it occasioned grew greater from day to day; the methods of reconciliation more difficult; and it involved both state and church during several years in the deepest calamities, and in the most complicated scenes of confusion and distress [*u*]. Henry IV. received indeed graciously

[*t*] Theodoricus, Verdun. Epistola ad Gregiorum VII. in Martene Thesauro Anecdotorum, tom. i. p. 218.—"Faciem meam in eo vel maxime confusione perfundunt, quod legem de Clericorum incontinentia per Laicorum Insanias cohibenda unquam susceperim.—Nec putetis eos qui ita sentiunt...ecclesiasticorum graduum incontinentiam talibus defensionibus fovere velle. Honestam conversationem in desiderio habent, nec aliter, quam oportet, ecclesiasticæ ultionis censuram intentari gaudent."

[*u*] We have extant a great number both of ancient and modern writers who have related the circumstances of this dispute concerning investitures, which was begun by Gregory VII. was carried on by him and his successors on the one side, and the emperors Henry IV. and V. on the other, and became a source of innumerable calamities to the greatest part of Europe. But few or none of these writers have treated this weighty subject with an entire impartiality. They all pleaded either the cause of the pontiffs, or that of the emperors, and decided the controversy, not by the laws then in being (which ought, no doubt, to be principally consulted), nor by the opinions that generally prevailed at the time of this contest, but by laws of their own invention, and by the opinions of modern times. The famous Gretser, in his Apologia pro Gregorio VII. which is published in the sixth

the legates of Gregory, and applauded his zeal for the extirpation of simony; but neither this prince nor the German bishops would permit these legates to assemble a council in Germany, or to proceed judicially against those, who, in time past, had been chargeable with simoniacal practices. The pontiff, exasperated at this restraint in the execution of his designs, called another council to meet at Rome, in the year 1075, in which he pursued his adventurous project with greater impetuosity and vehemence than ever; for he not only excluded from the communion of the church several German and Italian bishops, and certain favourites of Henry, whose counsels that prince was said to make use of in the traffic of ecclesiastical dignities, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, Anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the

volume of his works, and also separately, has collected the principal of the ancient writers who maintained the cause of the pontiff: in opposition to whom, they who defended the cause of Henry IV. are collected by Melchior Goldastus, in his Replicatio contra Gretserum et Apologia pro Henrico IV. Hanov. 1611, 4to. Among the modern writers who have treated this subject, we may count the Centuriatores Magdeburgenses, Baronius, the German and Italian historians, and those who have wrote the life of the famous Mathilda. But, besides these, it will be highly proper to consult Jo. Schilterus, De Libertate Ecclesiæ Germanicæ, lib. iv. p. 481.—Christ. Thomasius, Historia Contentionis inter Imperium et Sacerdotium—Hen. Meibomius, Lib. de Jure Investituræ Episcopalis, tom. iii. Scriptorum Rer. Germanicar.—Just. Chr. Dithmarus, Historia Belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium, published at Francfort, in 1741, in 8vo; and, above all, the famous Cardinal Noris, who far surpasses, in point of erudition, those whom we have mentioned, and whose Istoria delle Investiture della dignita Ecclesiastiche, which was published at Mantua, after his death, in the year 1741, is a most learned work, though it be imperfect and probably maimed, and also extremely partial in favour of the pontiffs; which is not surprising from the pen of a cardinal. See also Jo. Jac. Mascovii Commentarii de Rebus Imperii Germanici sub Henrico IV. et V. published at Leipsic, in 4to. in the year 1749.

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hands of a layman, as also against those by whom the investiture should be performed [*w*]. This decree was every way proper to surprise the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe; who, in consequence of a prevailing custom, had the right of conferring the more important ecclesiastical dignities, and the government of monasteries and convents, of which they disposed, in a solemn manner, by the well-known ceremony of the ring and the staff, or crosier, which they presented to the candidate on whom their choice fell. This solemn investiture was the main support of that power of creating bishops and abbots, which the European princes claimed as their undoubted right, and the occasion of that corrupt commerce called simony, in consequence of which, ecclesiastical promotion was impudently sold to the highest bidder; and hence the zeal and ardour of Gregory to annul these investitures, that he might extirpate simony on the one hand, and diminish the power of princes in ecclesiastical matters on the other.

A short Digression concerning Investitures [*x*].

It will not be improper to cast some illustrations upon the custom now mentioned of investing bishops and abbots in their respective dignities by the ceremony of the ring and crosier, since this custom has been ill understood by some, and but imperfectly explained by others. Even the learned Cardinal Noris appears highly defective here; for though, in his History of Investitures [*y*], there are many pertinent reflections upon the reasons which engaged Gregory to prohibit investitures altogether, yet that learned pre-

[*w*] Ant. Pagi Critica in Baronium, tom. iii. ad a. 1075.—Hen. Noris, Hist. Investiturarum, p. 39. Christ. Lupus, Scholia et Dissertation. ad Concilia, tom. vi. opp. p. 39—47.

[*x*] Here the translator has transposed the note [*r*] of the original text, under the form of a dissertation.

[*y*] Chap. iii. p. 56.

late does not seem to have had a complete notion of this important matter, since he omits in his history certain points that are necessary to the understanding it thoroughly. The investiture of bishops and abbots commenced, undoubtedly, at that period of time, when the European emperors, kings, and princes made grants to the clergy of certain territories, lands, forests, castles, &c. According to the laws of those times (laws which still remain in force) none were considered as lawful possessors of the lands or tenements which they derived from the emperors or other princes, before they repaired to court, took the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns, as the supreme proprietors, and received from their hands a solemn mark, by which the property of their respective grants was transferred to them. Such was the manner in which the nobility, and those who had distinguished themselves by military exploits, were confirmed in the possessions which they owed to the liberality of their sovereigns. But the custom of investing the bishops and abbots with the ring and the crosier, which are the ensigns of the sacred function, is of a much more recent date, and was then first introduced, when the European emperors and princes, annulling the elections that were made in the church according to the ecclesiastical laws that had been from the earliest times established for that purpose, assumed to themselves the power of conferring on whom they pleased the bishoprics and abbeys that became vacant in their dominions, nay, even of selling them to the highest bidder. This power, then, being once usurped by the kings and princes of Europe, they at first confirmed the bishops and abbots in their dignities and possessions, with the same forms and ceremonies that were used in investing the counts, knights, and others, in their feudal tenures, even by written contracts,

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and the ceremony of presenting them with a wand or bough [z]. And this custom of investing the clergy and the laity with the same ceremonies would have, undoubtedly, continued, had not the clergy, to whom the right of electing bishops and abbots originally belonged, eluded artfully the usurpation of the emperors and other princes by the following stratagem. When a bishop or abbot died, they who looked upon themselves as authorised to fill up the vacancy, elected immediately some one of their order in the place of the deceased, and were careful to have him consecrated without delay. The consecration being thus performed, the prince, who had proposed to himself the profit of selling the vacant benefice, or the pleasure of conferring it upon some of his favourites, was obliged to desist from his purpose, and to consent to the election, which the ceremony of consecration rendered irrevocable. Many examples of the success of this stratagem, which was practised both in chapters and monasteries, and which disappointed the liberality or avarice of several princes, might here be alleged; they abound in the records of the tenth century, to which we refer the curious reader. No sooner did the emperors and princes perceive this artful management, than they turned their attention to the properest means of

[z] This appears from a passage in Cardinal Humbert's third book, Adversus Simoniacos, which was composed before Gregory had set on foot the dispute concerning Investitures, and which is published in Martene's Thesaur. Anecd. tom. v. p. 787. The passage is as follows: "Potestas secularis primo ambitiosis ecclesiasticarum dignitatum vel possessionum cupidis favebat prece, dein minis, deinceps verbis concessivis: in quibus omnibus cernens sibi contradictorem neminem, nec qui moveret pennam, vel aperiret os et gganiret, ad majora progreditur, et jam sub nomine Investituræ dare primo tabellas vel qualescumque porrigere virgulas, dein baculos.—Quod maximum nefas sic inolevit, ut id solum canonicum credatur, nec quæ sit ecclesiastica regula sciatur aut attendatur."

rendering it ineffectual, and of preserving the valuable privilege they had usurped. For this purpose they ordered, that as soon as a bishop expired, his ring and crosier should be transmitted to the prince to whose jurisdiction his diocese was subject. For it was by the solemn delivery of the ring and crosier of the deceased to the new bishop that his election was irrevocably confirmed, and this ceremony was an essential part of his consecration; so that, when these two badges of the episcopal dignity were in the hands of the sovereign, the clergy could not consecrate the person whom their suffrages had appointed to fill the vacancy. Thus their stratagem was defeated, as every election that was not confirmed by the ceremony of consecration might be lawfully annulled and rejected; nor was the bishop qualified to exercise any of the episcopal functions before the performance of that important ceremony. As soon, therefore, as the bishop drew his last breath, the magistrate of the city in which he had resided, or the governor of the province, seized upon his ring and crosier, and sent them to court [*a*]. The emperor or prince conferred the vacant see upon the person whom he had chosen by delivering to him these two badges of the episcopal office, after which the new bishop, thus invested by his sovereign, repaired to his

[*a*] We see this fact confirmed by the following passage in Ebbo's Life of Otho, bishop of Bamberg, lib. i. sect. 8, 9. in Actis Sanctor. mensis Julii, tom. i. p. 426. "Nec multo post annulus cum virgâ pastorali Bremensis episcopi ad aulam regiam translata est. Eo siquidem tempore ecclesia liberam electionem non habebat...sed cum quilibet antistes viam universæ carnis ingressus fuisset, mox capitanei civitatis illius annulum et virgam pastoralem ad Palatium transmittebant, sicque regia auctoritate, communicato cum aulicis consilio, orbatæ plebi idoneum constituebat præsulem ... Post paucos vero dies, rursum annulus et virga pastoralis Bambenbergensis episcopi Domino imperatori transmissa est. Quo audito, multi nobiles ad aulam regiam confluebant, qui alteram harum prece vel pretio sibi comparare tentabant."

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metropolitan, to whom it belonged to perform the ceremony of consecration, and delivered to him the ring and crosier which he had received from his prince, that he might receive it again from his hands, and be thus doubly confirmed in his sacred function. It appears, therefore, from this account, that each new bishop and abbot received twice the ring and the crosier; once from the hands of the sovereign, and once from those of the metropolitan bishop, by whom they were consecrated [*b*].

It is highly uncertain by what prince this custom of creating the bishops by the ceremonies of the ring and crosier was first introduced. If we may believe Adam of Bremen [*c*], this privilege was exercised by Lewis the Meek, who, in the ninth century, granted to the new bishops the use and possession of the episcopal revenues, and confirmed this grant by the ceremony now under consideration. But the accuracy of this historian is liable to suspicion; and it is extremely probable that he attributed to the transactions of ancient times the same form that accompanied similar transactions in the eleventh century in which he lived. For it is certain, that in the ninth century the greatest part of the European

[*b*] This appears from a variety of ancient records. See particularly Humbert, lib. iii. contra Simoniacos, cap. vi. in Martene's Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. v. p. 779, in which we find the following passage: "Sic encœniatus (*i. e.* the bishops invested by the emperor) violentus invadit clerum, plebem et ordinem prius dominaturus, quam ab eis cognoscatur, quæratur, petatur. Sic metropolitanum aggreditur, non ab eo judicandus, sed ipsum judicaturus. —Quid enim sibi jam pertinet aut prodest baculum et annulum, quos portat reddere? Numquid quia laica persona dati sunt? Cur redditur quod habetur, nisi ut aut denuo res ecclesiastica sub hac specie jussionis vel donationis vendatur, aut in priore venditione corroboranda a metropolitano, suisque suffraganeis subscribatur, aut certe ut presumptio laicæ ordinationis pallietur colore et velamento quodam disciplinæ clericalis."

[*c*] In his Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. i. cap. xxxii. p. 10. xxxix. p. 12. published in the Scriptores Septentrionales of Lindenbrogius.

princes made no opposition to the right of electing the bishops, which was both claimed and exercised by the clergy and the people, and of consequence there was then no occasion for the investiture mentioned by Adam of Bremen [*d*]. We therefore choose to adopt the supposition of Cardinal Humbert [*e*], who places the commencement of the custom now under consideration in the reign of Otho the Great; for though this opinion has not the approbation of Lewis Thomassin and Natalis Alexander, yet these learned men, in their deep researches into the origin of investitures [*f*], have advanced nothing sufficient to prove it erroneous. We learn also from Humbert [*g*], that the emperor Henry III. the son of Conrad II. was desirous of abrogating these investitures, though a variety of circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of his design; but he represents Henry I. king of France in a different point of light, as a turbulent prince, who turned all things into confusion, and indulged himself beyond all measure in simoniacal practices, and loads him, of consequence, with the bitterest invectives.

In this method of creating bishops and abbots, by presenting to them the ring and crosier, there were two things that gave particular offence to the Roman pontiffs. The first was, that by this the ancient right of election was totally changed, and the power of choosing the rulers of the church was usurped by the emperors and other sovereign princes, and was confined to them alone. This,

[*d*] Add to this, the refutation of Adam of Bremen, by Daniel Papebroch, in the Acta Sanctorum, tom. i. Febr. p. 557.

[*e*] Humbert, lib. iii. contra Simoniacos, cap. vii. p. 780. & cap. xi. p. 787.

[*f*] See Ludov. Thomassini Disciplina Eccles. circa Benef. tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 434. and Natal. Alexander, Select. Histor. Eccl. Capit. Sæc. xi., xii. Diss. iv. p. 725.

[*g*] L. c. cap. vii. p. 780.

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indeed, was the most plausible reason of complaint, when we consider the religious notions of these times, which were by no means favourable to the conduct of the emperors in this matter. Another circumstance that grievously distressed the pretended vicars of St. Peter was to see the ring and crosier, the venerable badges of spiritual authority and ghostly distinction, delivered to the bishop elect by the profane hands of unsanctified laymen; an abuse this, which they looked upon as little better than sacrilege. Humbert, who, as we already observed, wrote his book against simony before the contest between the emperor and Gregory had commenced, complains [*h*] heavily of this supposed profanation, and shudders to think, that that staff which denotes the ghostly shepherd, and that ring which seals the mysteries of heaven [*i*], deposited in the bosoms of the episcopal order, should be polluted by the unhallowed touch of a civil magistrate; and that emperors and princes, by presenting them to their favourites, should thereby usurp the prerogatives of the church, and exercise the pastoral authority and power. This complaint was entirely consistent, as we have already observed, with the opinions of the times in which it was made; for as the ring and the crosier were generally esteemed

[*h*] See Humbert, lib. iii. contra Simoniac. cap. vi. p. 779. 795. His words are: "Quid ad laicas pertinet personas sacramenta ecclesiastica et pontificalem seu pastoralem gratiam distribuere, camyros scilicet baculos et annulos, quibus præcipue perficitur, militat et innititur tota episcopalis consecratio? Equidem in camyris baculis—designatur, quæ eis committitur cura pastoralis.—Porro annulus signaculum secretorum cœlestium indicat, præmonens prædicatores, ut secretam Dei sapientiam cum apostolo dissignent.—Quicumque ergo his duobus aliquem initiant, procul dubio omnem pastoralem auctoritatem hoc præsumendo sibi vendicant."

[*i*] Humbert mistook the spiritual signification of this holy ring, which was the emblem of a nuptial bond between the bishop and his see.

the marks and badges of pastoral power, and spiritual authority, so he who conferred these sacred badges was supposed to confer and communicate with them the ghostly authority of which they were the emblems.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive what it was that rendered Gregory VII. so averse to the pretensions of the emperors, and so zealous in depriving them of the privilege they had assumed of investing the bishops with the ceremony of the ring and crosier. In the first council which he assembled at Rome, he made no attempt, indeed, against investitures, nor did he aim at any thing farther than the abolition of simony, and the restoration of the sacerdotal and monastic orders to their ancient right of electing their respective bishops and abbots. But when he afterwards came to know that the affair of investitures was inseparably connected with the pretensions of the emperors, and indeed supposed them empowered to dispose of the higher ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, he was then persuaded that simony could not be extirpated as long as investitures were in being: and, therefore, to pluck up the evil by the root, he opposed the custom of investitures with the utmost vehemence. All this shows the true rise of the war that was carried on between the pontiff and the emperor with such bitterness and fury.

And to understand still more clearly the merits of this cause it will be proper to observe, that it was not investitures, considered in themselves, that Gregory opposed with such keenness and obstinacy, but that particular kind of investitures which were in use at this time. He did not pretend to hinder the bishops from swearing allegiance to kings and emperors, nor even to become their vassals; and so far was he from prohibiting that kind of investiture that was performed

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by a verbal declaration or a written deed, that, on the contrary, he allowed the kings of England and France to invest in this manner, and probably consented to the use of the sceptre in this ceremony, as did also after him Callixtus II. But he could not bear the ceremony of investiture that was performed with the ensigns of the sacerdotal order, much less could he endure the performance of the ceremony before the solemn rite of consecration; but what rendered investitures most odious to this pontiff was their destroying entirely the free elections of bishops and abbots. It is now time to resume the thread of our history.

History of the war that was kindled about investitures.

XV. The severe law that had been enacted against investitures, by the influence and authority of Gregory, made very little impression upon Henry. He acknowledged, indeed, that in exposing ecclesiastical benefices to sale he had done amiss, and he promised amendment in that respect; but he remained inflexible against all attempts that were made to persuade him to resign his power of creating bishops and abbots, and the right of investiture, which was intimately connected with this important privilege. Had this emperor been seconded by the German princes, he might have maintained this refusal with dignity and success; but this was far from being the case; a considerable number of these princes, and among others the states of Saxony, were the secret or declared enemies of Henry; and this furnished Gregory with a favourable opportunity of extending his authority, and executing his ambitious projects. This opportunity was by no means neglected; the imperious pontiff took occasion, from the discords that divided the empire, to insult and depress its chief; he sent, by his legates, an insolent message to the emperor at Goslar, ordering him to repair immediately to Rome, and clear himself before the council that was to

be assembled there of the various crimes that were laid to his charge. The emperor, whose high spirit could not brook such arrogant treatment, was filled with the warmest indignation at the view of that insolent mandate; and in the vehemence of his just resentment, assembled without delay a council of the German bishops at Worms, where Gregory was charged with several flagitious practices, deposed from the pontificate, of which he was declared unworthy, and an order issued out for the election of a new pontiff. Gregory opposed violence to violence; for no sooner had he received by the letters and ambassadors of Henry an account of the sentence that had been pronounced against him, than, in a raging fit of vindictive frenzy, he thundered his anathemas at the head of that prince; excluded him both from the communion of the church and from the throne of his ancestors, and impiously dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign. Thus war was declared on both sides; and the civil and ecclesiastical powers were divided into two great factions, of which one maintained the rights of the emperor, while the other seconded the ambitious views of the pontiff. No terms are sufficient to express the complicated scenes of misery that arose from this deplorable schism.

XVI. At the entrance upon this war, the Swabian chiefs, with duke Rodolph at their head, revolted against Henry; and the Saxon princes, whose former quarrels with the emperor had been lately terminated by their defeat and submission [*k*],

☞ [*k*] This same Rodolph had, the year before this revolt, vanquished the Saxons, and obliged them to submit to the emperor. Beside the Swabian and Saxon chiefs, the dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia, the bishops of Wurtzbourg and Worms, and several other eminent personages, were concerned in this revolt.

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followed their example. These united powers, being solicited by the pope to elect a new emperor in case Henry persisted in his obstinate disobedience to the orders of the church, met at Tribur in the year 1076, to take counsel together concerning a matter of such high importance. The result of their deliberations was far from being favourable to the emperor; for they agreed, that the determination of the controversy between him and them should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who was to be invited for that purpose to a congress at Augsburg the year following; and that, in the meantime, Henry should be suspended from his royal dignity, and live in the obscurity of a private station; to which rigorous conditions they also added, that he was to forfeit his kingdom, if, within the space of a year, he was not restored to the bosom of the church, and delivered from the anathema that lay upon his head. When things were come to this desperate extremity, and the faction which was formed against this unfortunate prince grew more formidable from day to day, his friends advised him to go into Italy, and implore in person the clemency of the pontiff. The emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without, however, obtaining from his voyage the advantages he expected. He passed the Alps, amidst the rigour of a severe winter, arrived in the month of February 1077, at the fortress of Canusium, where the sanctimonious pontiff resided at that time with the young Mathilda, countess of Tuscany, the most powerful patroness of the church, and the most tender and affectionate of all the spiritual daughters of Gregory. Here the suppliant prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air at the entrance of this fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his

body to cover his nakedness. The fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the lordly pontiff, who, with a good deal of difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded; but as to what regarded his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine that point before the approaching congress, at which he made Henry promise to appear, forbidding him, at the same time, to assume, during this interval, the title of king, as also to wear the ornaments, or to exercise the functions, of royalty. This opprobrious convention excited, and that justly, the indignation of the princes and bishops of Italy, who threatened Henry with all sorts of evils, on account of his base and pusillanimous conduct, and would, undoubtedly, have deposed him, had not he diminished their resentment by violating the convention which he had been forced to enter into with the imperious pontiff, and resuming the title and other marks of royalty which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate princes of Swabia and Saxony were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of Henry, than they assembled at Forcheim in the month of March, A. D. 1077, and unanimously elected Rodolph, duke of Swabia, emperor in his place [*l*].

XVII. This rash step kindled a terrible flame in Germany and Italy, and involved for a long time those unhappy lands in the calamities of war. In Italy, the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies

[*l*] The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history have given ample relations of all these events, though not all with the same fidelity and accuracy. In the brief account I have given of these events, I have followed the genuine sources, and those writers whose testimonies are the most respectable and sure, such as Sigonius, Pagi, Muratori, Mascovius, Noris, &c. who, though they differ in some minute circumstances, are yet agreed in those matters that are of the most importance.

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of the powerful and valiant Mathilda, maintained successfully the cause of Gregory against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of Henry; while this unfortunate prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in Germany against Rodolph and the confederate princes. Gregory, considering the events of war as extremely doubtful, was at first afraid to declare for either side, and therefore observed, during a certain time, an appearance of neutrality; but, encouraged by the battle of Fladenheim, in which Henry was defeated by the Saxons, A. D. 1080, he excommunicated anew that vanquished prince, and sending a crown to the victor Rodolph, declared him lawful king of the Germans. The injured emperor did not let this new insult pass unpunished; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German bishops, he deposed Gregory a second time in a council which met at Mentz, and, in a synod that was soon after assembled at Brixen, in the province of Tirol, he raised to the pontificate Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III. when he was consecrated at Rome, A. D. 1084, four years after his election.

XVIII. This election was followed soon after by an event which gave an advantageous turn to the affairs of Henry; this event was a bloody battle fought upon the banks of the river Elster, where Rodolph received a mortal wound, of which he died at Mersburgh. The emperor, having got rid of this formidable enemy, marched directly into Italy the following year (1081), with a design to crush Gregory and his adherents, whose defeat he imagined would contribute effectually to put an end to the troubles in Germany. Accordingly, he made several campaigns, with various success, against the valiant troops of Mathilda; and, after having raised twice the siege

of Rome, he resumed a third time that bold enterprise, and became, at length, master of the greatest part of that city, in the year 1084. The first step that Henry took after this success was to place Guibert in the papal chair; after which he received the imperial crown from the hands of the new pontiff, was saluted emperor by the Roman people, and laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, whither his mortal enemy, Gregory, had fled for safety. He was, however, forced to raise this siege by the valour of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, who brought Gregory in triumph to Rome; but, not thinking him safe there, conducted him afterwards to Salernum. In this place the famous pontiff ended his days the year following, A. D. 1085, and left Europe involved in those calamities which were the fatal effects of his boundless ambition. He was certainly a man of extensive abilities, endowed with a most enterprising genius, and an invincible firmness of mind; but it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that he was the most arrogant and audacious pontiff that had hitherto sat in the papal chair. The Roman church worships him as a saint, though it is certain that he was never placed in that order by a regular canonization. Paul V. about the beginning of the seventeenth century, appointed the twenty-fifth day of May as a festival sacred to the memory of this pretended saint [*m*]; but the emperors of Germany, the kings of France, and other European princes, have always opposed the celebration of this festival, and have thus effectually prevented its becoming universal. In our times, Benedict XIII. zealous to secure to Gregory the saintly honours,

[*m*] See the Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. ad d. xxv. Maii, and Jo. Mabillon, Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. vi. part II.

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occasioned a contest, whose issue was by no means favourable to his superstitious views [n].

XIX. The death of Gregory neither restored peace to the church, nor tranquillity to the state; the tumults and divisions which he had excited still continued, and they were augmented, from day to day, by the same passions to which they owed their origin. Clement III. who was the emperor's pontiff [o], was master of the city of Rome, and was acknowledged as pope by a great part of Italy. Henry carried on the war in Germany against the confederate princes. The faction of Gregory, supported by the Normans, chose for his successor, in the year 1086, Diderick, abbot of mount Cassin, who adopted the title of Victor III. and was consecrated in the church of St. Peter, in the year 1087, when that part of the city was recovered by the Normans from the dominion of Clement. But this new pontiff was of a character quite opposite to that of Gregory; he was modest and timorous, and also of a mild and gentle disposition; and finding the papal chair beset with factions, and the city of Rome under the dominion of his competitor, he retired to his monastery, where soon after he ended his days in peace. But, before his abdication, he held a council at Benevento, where he confirmed and renewed the laws that Gregory had enacted for the abolition of investitures.

[n] The reader will find an ample and curious account of this matter in a French book published in Holland in the year 1743, in three volumes, under the following title: L'Avocat du Diable, ou Mémoires Historiques et Critiques sur la Vie et sur la Legende du Pape Gregoire VII.

[o] The very learned Jo. Gottl. Hornius engaged himself, in the Miscell. Lips. tom. viii. p. 609. to publish the Life of Clement III. This pontiff died in the year 1100, as appears evidently from the Chronicon Beneventanum, published by Muratori, in his Antiq. Ital. tom. i. p. 262. See also Rubei Historia Ravennat. lib. v. p. 307.

XX. Otho, bishop of Ostia, and monk of Clugni, was, by Victor's recommendation, chosen to succeed him. This new pontiff was elected at Terracina in the year 1088, and assumed the name of Urban II. Inferior to Gregory in fortitude and resolution, he was, however, his equal in arrogance and pride, and surpassed him greatly in temerity and imprudence [p]. The commencement of his pontificate had a fair aspect, and success seemed to smile upon his undertakings; but upon the emperor's return into Italy, in the year 1090, the face of affairs was totally changed; victory crowned the arms of that prince, who, by redoubled efforts of valour, defeated, at length, Guelph, duke of Bavaria, and the famous Mathilda, who were the formidable heads of the papal faction. The abominable treachery of his son Conrad, who, yielding to the seduction of his father's enemies, revolted against him, and, by the advice and assistance of Urban and Mathilda, usurped the kingdom of Italy, revived the drooping spirits of that faction, who hoped to see the laurels of the emperor blasted by this odious and unnatural rebellion. The consequences, however, of this event were less fatal to Henry than his enemies expected. In the meantime the troubles of Italy still continued, nor could Urban, with all his efforts reduce the city of Rome under his lordly yoke. Finding all his ambitious measures disconcerted, he assembled a council at Placentia in the year 1095, where he confirmed the laws and the anathemas of Gregory;

[p] We find in the Posthumous Works of Mabillon, tom. iii. p. 1. the Life of Urban II., composed by Theod. Ruinart, with much learning and industry, but with too little impartiality and fidelity, as we may naturally suppose even from the name of its author, since it is well known that no monkish writer dare attempt to paint the Roman pontiffs in their true colours.—See also, for an account of Urban, the Hist. Litt. de la France, tom. viii. p. 514.

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and afterwards undertook a journey into France, where he held the famous council of Clermont, and had the pleasure of kindling a new war against the infidel possessors of the holy land. In this council, instead of endeavouring to terminate the tumults and desolations that the dispute concerning investitures had already produced, this unworthy pontiff added fuel to the flame, and so exasperated matters by his imprudent and arrogant proceedings, as to render an accommodation between the contending parties more difficult than ever. Gregory, notwithstanding his insolence and ambition, had never carried matters so far as to forbid the bishops and the rest of the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns. This rebellious prohibition was reserved for the audacious arrogance of Urban, who published it as a law in the council of Clermont [*q*]. After this noble expedition, the restless pontiff returned into Italy, where he made himself master of the castle of St. Angelo, and soon after ended his days in the year 1099; he was not long survived by his antagonist Clement III. who died the following year, and thus left Raynier, a Benedictine monk, who was chosen successor to Urban, and assumed the name of Pascal II. sole possessor of the papal chair at the conclusion of this century.

The state of the monastic orders.

XXI. Among the eastern monks in this century, there happened nothing worthy of being consigned to the records of history, while those of

[*q*] To the fifteenth canon of this council the following words were added: "Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligiam fidelitatem faciant," *i. e.* "It is enacted, that no bishop or priest shall promise upon oath liege obedience to any king or any layman." They are entirely mistaken who affirm that Gregory prohibited the bishops from taking oaths of allegiance to their respective sovereigns, as Cardinal Noris has sufficiently demonstrated in his Istoria delle Investiture, chap. x. p. 279.

the west were concerned immediately in transactions of great consequence, and which deserve the attention of the curious reader. The western monks were remarkable for their attachment to the Roman pontiffs; this connexion had been long formed, and it was originally owing to the avarice and violence of both bishops and princes, who, under various pretexts, were constantly encroaching upon the possession of the monks, and thus obliged them to seek for security against these invasions of their property in the protection of the popes. This protection was readily granted by the pontiffs, who seized, with avidity, every occasion of enlarging their authority; and the monks, in return, engaged themselves to pay an annual tribute to their ghostly patrons. But in this century things were carried still farther; and the pontiffs, more especially Gregory VII. who was eagerly bent upon humbling the bishops, and transferring their privileges to the Roman see, enlarged their jurisdiction over the monks at the expense of the episcopal order. They advised and exhorted the monks to withdraw themselves and their possessions from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to place both under the inspection and dominion of St. Peter [r]. Hence it happened that, from the time of Gregory, the number of monasteries that had received immunities, both from the temporal authority of the sovereign and the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops, were multiplied beyond measure throughout all Europe, and the rights of princes, toge-

[r] A specimen of this may be seen in the seventh epistle of Gregory, in which he reduces the monks of Redon under the jurisdiction of the Roman see, by a mandate conceived in terms that had never been used before his time; see Martene, Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. i. p. 204. We may add to this, several like mandates of Urban II. and the succeeding pontiffs, which are to be found in the collection now cited, and in others of that kind.

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ther with the interests and privileges of the episcopal order, were violated and trampled upon, or rather ingrossed, to swell the growing despotism of the all grasping pontiffs [s].

Their corruption.

XXII. All the writers of this age complain of the ignorance, licentiousness, frauds, debaucheries, dissensions, and enormities, that dishonoured by far the greatest part of the monastic orders, not to mention the numerous marks of their dissolution and impiety that have been handed down to our times [t]. However astonished we may be at such horrid irregularities among a set of men whose destination was so sacred, and whose profession was so austere, we shall still be more surprised to learn that this degenerate order, so far from losing aught of their influence and credit on account of their licentiousness, were promoted, on the contrary, to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and beheld their opulence and authority increasing from day to day. Our surprise, indeed, will be diminished, when we consider the gross ignorance and superstition, and the unbounded licentiousness and corruption of manners, that reigned in this century among all ranks and orders of men [u]. Ignorance and corruption

[s] There is not, perhaps, in Germany, one single instance of this pernicious immunity before the time of Gregory VII.

[t] See Jo. Launoy, Assert. in Privileg. S. Medardi, cap. xxvi. sect. vi. opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 499. and Simon, Biblioth. Critique, tom. iii. cap. xxxii. p. 331.

[u] For an account of the astonishing corruption of this age, see Blondel, De Formula, regnante Christo, p. 14.—Boulainvilliers, De l'Origine et des Droits de la Noblesse in Molet's Memoires de Litterature et d'Histoire, tom. ix. part I. p. 63. The corruption and violence that reigned with impunity in this horrid age gave occasion to the institutions of chivalry or knighthood, in consequence of which a certain set of equestrian heroes undertook the defence of the poor and feeble, and particularly of the fair sex, against the insults of powerful oppressors and ravishers. This order of knights-errant was certainly of great use in these miserable times, when the majesty of laws and government was

pervert the taste and judgment of even those who are not void of natural sagacity, and often prevent their being shocked at the greatest inconsistencies. Amidst this general depravation of sentiments and conduct, amidst the flagitious crimes that were daily perpetrated, not only by the laity, but also by the various orders of the clergy, both secular and regular, all such as respected the common rules of decency, or preserved in their external demeanor the least appearance of piety and virtue, were looked upon as saints of the highest rank, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. This circumstance was, no doubt, favourable to many of the monks who were less profligate than the rest of their order, and might contribute more or less to support the credit of the whole body. Besides, it often happened, that princes, dukes, knights, and generals, whose days had been consumed in debauchery and crimes, and distinguished by nothing but the violent exploits of unbridled lust, cruelty, and avarice, felt at the approach of old age, or death, the inexpressible anguish of a wounded conscience, and the gloomy apprehensions and terrors it excites. In this dreadful condition, what was their resource? What were the means by which they hoped to disarm the uplifted hand of divine justice, and render the governor of the world propitious? They purchased, at an enormous price, the prayers of the monks to screen them from judgment, and devoted to God and to the saints a large portion of the fruits of their rapine, or entered themselves into the monastic order, and bequeathed their possessions to their new brethren. And thus it

fallen into contempt, and they who bore the title of sovereigns and magistrates had neither resolution nor power to maintain their authority, or to perform the duties of their stations.

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was that monkery received perpetually new accessions of opulence and credit.

The monks of Clugni.

XXIII. The monks of Clugni in France surpassed all the other religious orders in the renown they had acquired, from a prevailing opinion of their eminent sanctity and virtue. Hence their discipline was universally respected, and hence also their rules were adopted by the founders of new monasteries, and the reformers of those that were in a state of decline. These famous monks arose, by degrees, to the very highest summit of worldly prosperity, by the presents which they received from all quarters; and their power and credit grew, with their opulence, to such a height, that, towards the conclusion of this century, they were formed into a separate society, which still subsists under the title of the order, or congregation of Clugni [*w*]. And no sooner were they thus established than they extended their spiritual dominion on all sides, reducing under their jurisdiction, all the monasteries which they had reformed by their counsels, and engaged to adopt their religious discipline. The famous Hugo, sixth abbot of Clugni, who was in high credit at the court of Rome, and had acquired the peculiar protection and esteem of several princes, laboured with such success, in extending the power and jurisdiction of his order, that before the end of this century, he saw himself at the head of five-and-thirty of the principal monasteries in France, besides a considerable number of smaller convents that acknowledged him as their chief. Many other religious societies, though they refused en-

[*w*] For a particular account of the rapid and monstrous strides which the order of Clugni made to opulence and dominion, see Steph. Baluzius, Miscellan. tom. v. p. 343. and tom. vi. p. 436. as also Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. v. *passim*.

tering into this new order, and continued to choose their respective governors, yet showed such respect for the abbot of Clugni, or the arch-abbot, as he styled himself, that they regarded him as their spiritual chief [x]. This enormous augmentation of opulence and authority was, however, fruitful of many evils; it increased the arrogance of these aspiring monks, and contributed much to the propagation of the several vices that dishonoured the religious societies of this licentious and superstitious age. The monks of Clugni degenerated soon from their primitive sanctity, and in a short space of time were distinguished by nothing but the peculiarities of their discipline from the rest of the monastic orders.

XXIV. The example of these monks excited several pious men to erect particular monastic fraternities, or congregations, like that of Clugni, the consequence of which was, that the Benedictine order, which had been hitherto one great and universal body, was now divided into separate societies, which, though they were subject to one general rule, yet differed from each other in various circumstances, both of their discipline and manner of living; and rendered their division still more conspicuous by reciprocal exertions of animosity and hatred. In the year 1023, Romuald, an Italian fanatic, retired to Camaldoli [y], on the mount Apennine, and in that solitary retreat founded the order or congregation of the Camaldolites, which still remains in a flourishing state, particularly in Italy. His followers were distinguished into two classes, of which the one were Cænobites, and the other Eremites. Both ob-

[x] Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. v. Actor. SS. Ord. Bened. p. 26.—Hist. Generale de Bourgogne par les Moines Benedictins, tom. i. p. 151. published at Paris in folio in the year 1739.—Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. ix. p. 470.

[y] Otherwise called Campo Malduli.

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served a severe discipline; but the Cœnobites had degenerated much from their primitive austerity [z].

Some time after this, Gualbert, a native of Florence, founded at Val-Ombroso, situated in the Apennines, a congregation of Benedictine monks, who, in a short space of time, propagated their discipline in several parts of Italy [a]. To these two Italian monasteries we may add that of Hirsauge in Germany [b], erected by William, an eminent abbot, who had reformed many ancient convents, and was the founder of several new establishments. It is, however, to be observed, that the monastery of Hirsauge was rather a branch of the congregation of Clugni, whose laws and manner of living it had adopted, than a new fraternity.

Cistertian monks.

XXV. Towards the conclusion of this century [c], Robert, abbot of Moleme in Burgundy, having employed in vain his most zealous efforts to revive the decaying piety and discipline of

[z] The writers, who have given any satisfactory accounts of the order of the Camaldolites, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Lat. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 895. Add to these Romualdi Vita, in Actis Sanctor. Februar. tom. ii. p. 101. and in Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi. part I. p. 247.—Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. v. p. 236.—Mabillon, Annal. Ord. Bened. tom. v. p. 261.—Magnoaldi Zeigelbaver, Centifolium Camaldulense, sive Notitia Scriptor. Camaldulensium, published at Venice in the year 1750.

[a] See the life of Gualbert in Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi. part II. p. 273. Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. v. p. 298. Many interesting circumstances relating to the history of this order have been published by the learned Lami, in the Deliciæ Eruditorum, published at Florence, tom. ii. p. 238. as also p. 272. 279. where the ancient laws of the order are enumerated; see also tom. iii. of the same work, p. 177. 212.

[b] See Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Bened. Sæc. vi. part ii. p. 716.—Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. v. p. 332.

[c] In the year 1098.

his convent, and to oblige his monks to observe, with more exactness, the rule of St. Benedict, retired with about twenty monks, who had not been infected with the dissolute turn of their brethren, to a place called Citeaux, in the diocese of Chalons. In this retreat, which was at that time a miserable desert, covered on all sides with brambles and thorns, but which bears, at present, a quite different aspect, Robert laid the foundations of the famous order, or congregation of Cistertians, which, like that of Clugni, made a most rapid and astonishing progress, was propagated through the greatest part of Europe in the following century, and was not only enriched with the most liberal and splendid donations, but also acquired the form and privileges of a spiritual republic, and exercised a sort of dominion over all the monastic orders [*d*]. The great and fundamental law of this new fraternity was the rule of St. Benedict, which was to be solemnly and rigorously observed; to this were added several other institutions and injunctions, which were designed to maintain the authority of this rule, to ensure its observance, and to defend it against the dangerous effects of opulence, and the restless efforts of human corruption to render the best establishments imperfect. These injunctions were excessively austere, grievous to nature, but pious and laudable in the esteem of a superstitious age. They did not, however, secure the sanctity of this holy congregation; since the seducing charms of opulence, that corrupted the monks of Clugni much sooner than was expected, produced the same effect among the Cistertians, whose zeal, in the rigorous observance of their rule, began gradually

☞ [*d*] In about a hundred years after its first establishment, this order boasted of 1800 abbeys, and was become so powerful, that it governed almost all Europe, both in spirituals and temporals.

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to diminish, and who, in process of time, grew as negligent and dissolute as the rest of the Benedictines [e].

New monastic orders.

XXVI. Besides these convents, that were founded upon the principles, and might be considered as branches of the Benedictine order, several other monastic societies were formed, which were distinguished by peculiar laws, and by rules of discipline and obedience which they had drawn up for themselves. To many of those gloomy and fanatical monks, whose austerity was rather the fruit of a bad habit of body than the result of a religious principle, the rule of Benedict appeared too mild; to others it seemed incomplete and defective, and not sufficiently accommodated to the exercise of the various duties we owe to the Supreme Being. Hence Stephen, a nobleman of Auvergne (who is called by some Stephen de Muret, from the place where he first erected the convent of his order) obtained, in the year 1073, from Gregory VII. the privilege of instituting a new species of monastic discipline. His first design was to subject his fraternity to the rule of St. Benedict; but he changed his intention, and composed himself the body of laws, which was to be their rule of life, piety, and manners. In these laws there were many injunctions, that showed the excessive

[e] The principal historian of the Cistertian order is Ang. Manriques, whose Annales Cistertienses, an ample and learned work, were published in four volumes folio, at Lyons, in the year 1642. After him we may place Piere le Nain, whose Essai de l'Histoire de l'Ordre des Citeaux, was printed in the year 1696, at Paris, in nine volumes in 8vo. The other historians, who have given accounts of this famous order, are enumerated by Fabricius, in his Biblioth. Latina Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 1066. Add to these Helyot's Hist. des Ordres, tom. v. p. 341. and Mabillon, who, in the fifth and sixth volumes of his Annales Benedictini, has given a learned and accurate account of the origin and progress of the Cistertians.

austerity of their author. Poverty and obedience were the two great points which he inculcated with the warmest zeal, and all his regulations were directed to promote and secure them in this new establishment; for this purpose it was solemnly enacted, that the monks should possess no lands beyond the limits of their convent; that the use of flesh should be allowed to none, not even to the sick and infirm; and that none should be permitted to keep cattle, that they might not be exposed to the temptation of violating their frugal regimen. To these severe precepts many others of equal rigour were added; for this gloomy legislator imposed upon his fraternity the solemn observance of a profound and uninterrupted silence, and insisted so much upon the importance and necessity of solitude, that none but a few persons of the highest eminence and authority were permitted to pass the threshold of his monastery. He prohibited all intercourse with the female sex, and, indeed, excluded his order from all the comforts and enjoyments of life. His followers were divided into two classes, of which the one comprehended the clerks, and the other what he called the converted brethren. The former were totally absorbed in the contemplation of divine things, while the latter were charged with the care and administration of whatever related to the concerns and necessities of a present life. Such were the principal circumstances of the new institution founded by Stephen, which arose to the highest pitch of renown in this and the following century, and was regarded with the most profound veneration as long as its laws and discipline were observed; but two things contributed to its decline, and at length brought on its ruin; the first was, the violent contest which arose between the clerks and the converts, on account of the pre-eminence which the latter pretended over the former; and the second was the

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gradual diminution of the rigour and austerity of Stephen's rule, which was softened and mitigated from time to time, both by the heads of the order, and by the Roman pontiffs. This once famous monastic society was distinguished by the title of the Order of Grandmontains, as Muret, where they were first established, was situated near Grammont, in the province of Limoges [*f*].

The order of the Carthusians.

XXVII. In the year 1084 [*g*], was instituted the famous order of Carthusians, so called from Chartreux, a dismal and wild spot of ground near Grenoble in Dauphine, surrounded with barren mountains and craggy rocks. The founder of this monastic society, which surpassed all the rest in the extravagant austerity of their manners and discipline, was Bruno, a native of Cologn, and canon of the cathedral of Rheims in France. This zealous ecclesiastic, who had neither power to reform, nor patience to bear, the dissolute manners of his archbishop Manasse, retired from his church with six of his companions, and, having obtained the permission of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, fixed his residence in the miserable desert already mentioned [*h*]. He adopted at first

[*f*] The origin of this order is related by Bernard Guidon, whose treatise upon that subject is published in the Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum Phil. Labbei, tom. ii. p. 275. For an account of the history of this celebrated society, see Jo. Mabillon, Annal. Bened. tom. v. p. 65. s. p. 99. tom. vi. p. 116. and Præf. ad Actor. SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi. part II. p. 34. Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. vii. p. 409.—Gallia Christ. Monachor. Bened. tom. ii. p. 645.—Baluzii Vitæ Pontiff. Avenionens. tom. i. p. 158. et Miscellanea, tom. vii. p. 486.—☞ The life and ghostly exploits of Stephen, the founder of this order, are recorded in the Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. Febr. p. 199.

[*g*] Some place the institution of this order in the year 1080, and others in the year 1086.

[*h*] The learned Fabricius mentions, in his Bibl. Lat. Medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 784, several writers who have composed the

the rule of St. Benedict, to which he added a considerable number of severe and rigorous precepts; his successors, however, went still farther, and imposed upon the Carthusians new laws, much more intolerable than those of their founder, laws which inculcated the highest degrees of austerity that the most gloomy imagination could invent [*i*]. And yet, notwithstanding all this, it is remarkable, that no monastic society degenerated so little from the severity of their primitive institution and discipline as this of the Carthusians. The progress of their order was indeed less rapid, and their influence less extensive in

history of Bruno and his order, but his enumeration is incomplete; since there are yet extant many histories of the Carthusians, that have escaped his notice. See Innocent. Massoni Annales Carthusian. published in the year 1687.—Petri Orlandi Chronicon. Carthusianum, and the elegant, though imperfect history of the order in question, which is to be found in Heylot's Hist. des Ordres, tom. vii. p. 366. Many important illustrations on the nature and laws of this famous society have been published by Mabillon, in his Annal. Benedict. tom. vi. p. 638. 683. A particular and accurate account of Bruno has been given by the Benedictine monks in their Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. ix. p. 233; but a yet more ample one will be undoubtedly given by the compilers of the Acta Sanctorum, when they shall have carried on their work to the sixth of October, which is the festival consecrated to the memory of Bruno. It was a current report in ancient times, that the occasion of Bruno's retreat, was the miraculous restoration of a certain priest to life, who, while the funeral service was performing, raised himself up and said, By the just judgment of God I am damned, and then expired anew. This story is looked upon as fabulous, by the most respectable writers, even of the Roman church, especially since it has been refuted by Launoy, in his treatise De Causa Secessus Brunonis in Desertum. Nor does it seem to preserve its credit among the Carthusians, who are more interested than others in this pretended miracle. Such of them, at least, as affirm it, do it with a good deal of modesty and diffidence. The arguments on both sides are candidly and accurately enumerated by Cæs. Egass. du Boulay, in his Histor. Academ. Paris. tom. i. p. 467.

[*i*] See Mabillon, Præf. ad Sæc. vi. part II. Actor. SS. Ord. Bened. p. 37.

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the different countries of Europe, than the progress and influence of those monastic establishments, whose laws were less rigorous, and whose manners were less austere. It was a long time before the tender sex could be engaged to submit to the savage rules of this melancholy institution; nor had the Carthusian order ever reason to boast of a multitude of females subjected to its jurisdiction; it was too forbidding to captivate a sex, which, though susceptible of the seductions of enthusiasm, is of a frame too delicate to support the severities of a rigorous self-denial [*k*].

The order of St. Anthony of Vienne.

XXVIII. Towards the conclusion of this century [*l*], the order of St. Anthony of Vienne in Dauphine was instituted for the relief and support of such as were seized with grievous disorders, and particularly with the disease called St. Anthony's fire. All who were infected with that pestilential disorder repaired to a cell built near Vienne by the Benedictine monks of Grammont, in which the body of St. Anthony was said to

[*k*] The Carthusian nuns have not sufficiently attracted the attention of the authors who have written concerning this famous order; nay, several writers have gone so far as to maintain, that there was not in this order a single convent of nuns. This notion, however, is highly erroneous; as there were formerly several convents of Carthusian virgins, of which, indeed, the greatest part have not subsisted to our times. In the year 1368, there was an extraordinary law passed, by which the establishment of any more female Carthusian convents was expressly prohibited. Hence there remain only five at this day; four in France, and one at Bruges in Flanders. See the Varietés Historiques Physiques et Litteraires, tom. i. p. 80. published at Paris in 8vo. in the year 1752. Certain it is, that the rigorous discipline of the Carthusians is quite inconsistent with the delicacy and tenderness of the female sex; and, therefore, in the few female convents of that order that still subsist, the austerity of that discipline has been diminished, as well from necessity as from humanity and wisdom; it was more particularly found necessary to abrogate those severe injunctions of silence and solitude, that are so little adapted to the known character and genius of the sex.

[*l*] In the year 1095.

repose, that, by the prayers and intercessions of this eminent saint, they might be miraculously healed. Gaston, an opulent nobleman of Vienne, and his son Guerin, pretended to have experienced, in their complete recovery, the marvellous efficacy of St. Anthony's intercession, and, in consequence thereof, devoted themselves and their possessions, from a principle of pious gratitude, to the service of St. Anthony, and to the performance of generous and charitable offices towards all such as were afflicted with the miseries of poverty and sickness. Their example was followed, at first, but by eight persons; their community, however, was afterwards considerably augmented. They were not bound by particular vows like the other monastic orders, but were consecrated, in general, to the service of God, and lived under the jurisdiction of the monks of Grammont. In process of time, growing opulent and powerful by the multitude of pious donations they received from all parts, they withdrew themselves from the dominion of the Benedictines, propagated their order in various countries, and, at length, obtained, in the year 1297, from Boniface VIII. the dignity and privileges of an independent congregation, under the rule of St. Augustin [*m*].

The order of canons.

XXIX. The licentiousness and corruption that had infected all the other ranks and orders of the clergy were also remarkable among the canons, which was a middle sort of order between the monks and secular priests, and whose first esta-

[*m*] See the Acta Sanctor. tom. ii. Januarii, p. 160.—Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. ii. p. 108.—Gabr. Penott, Histor. Canonicorum regular. lib. ii. cap. 70.—Jo. Erh. Kapii Diss. de Fratribus S. Anton. published at Leipsick, in the year 1737.—For an account of the present state of the principal hospital, or residence of this order where the abbot remains, see Martene and Durand, Voyage Litter. de deux Benedictins de la Congreg. de St. Maur, tom. i. p. 260.

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blishment was in the eighth century. In certain provinces of Europe the canons were corrupted to a very high degree, and surpassed, in the scandalous dissolution of their manners, all the other ecclesiastical and monastic orders. Hence several pious and virtuous persons exerted their zeal for the reformation of this degenerate body; some pontiffs appeared in this good cause, and more especially Nicolas II. who, in a council held at Rome in the year 1059, abrogated the ancient rule of the canons, which had been drawn up at Aix-la-Chapelle, and substituted another in its place [*n*]. These laudable attempts were attended with considerable success, and a much better rule of discipline was established in almost all the canonical orders than that which had been formerly in use. It was not, however, possible to regulate them all upon the same footing, and to subject them to the same degree of reformation and discipline; nor indeed was this necessary. Accordingly, a certain number of these canonical colleges were erected into communities, the respective members of which had one common dwelling, and a common table, which was the point chiefly insisted upon by the pontiffs, as this alone was sufficient to prevent the canons from entering into the bonds of matrimony. It did not, however, exclude them from the possession or enjoyment of private property; for they reserved to themselves the right of appropriating to their own use the fruits and revenues of their benefices, and of employing them as they thought expedient. Other canonical congregations subjected themselves to a rule of life less agreeable and commo-

[*n*] This decree of Nicolas II. by which the primitive rule of the canons was changed, is published by Mabillon among the papers, which serve as proofs to the fourth volume of his Annales Bened. and also in the Annals themselves. See tom. iv. Annal. Bened. p. 748. as also lib. lxi. sect. xxxv. p. 586.

dions, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Ivo or Ives, bishop of Chartres, renouncing all their worldly possessions and prospects, all private property, and living in a manner that resembled the austerity of the monastic orders. Hence arose the well-known distinction between the secular and the regular canons; the former of which observed the decree of Nicolas II. while the latter, more prone to mortification and self-denial, complied with the directions and jurisdictions of Ivo; and as this austere prelate imitated St. Augustin [*o*], in the manner of regulating the conduct of his clergy, his canons were called, by many, the regular canons of St. Augustin [*p*].

☞ [*o*] St. Augustin committed to writing no particular rule for his clergy; but his manner of ruling them may be learned from several passages in his epistles.

[*p*] See Mabillon, Annal. Bened. tom. iv. p. 586. et Opera Posthuma, tom. ii. p. 102. 115.—Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. ii. p. 11.—Lud. Thomassini Disciplina Ecclesiæ circa Beneficia, tom. i. part I. l. iii. c. xi. p. 657.—Muratori Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 257.—In the Gallia Christiana of the Benedictine monks, we find frequent mention made both of this reformation of the canons, and also of their division into seculars and regulars. The regular canons are much displeased with all the accounts that render the origin of their community so recent; they are extremely ambitious of appearing with the venerable character of an ancient establishment, and therefore trace back their first rise, through the darkness of the remotest ages, to Christ himself, or, at least, to St. Augustin. But the arguments and testimonies, by which they pretend to support this imagined antiquity of their order are a proof of the weakness of their cause, and of the vanity of their pretensions, and are not, therefore, worthy of a serious refutation. It is true, the title of canons is, undoubtedly, of much more ancient date than the eleventh century, but not as applied to a particular order or institution, for at its first rise it was used in a very vague general sense, (See Claud. de Vert, Explications des Ceremonies de la Messe, tom. i. p. 58.) and therefore the mere existence of the title proves nothing. At the same time, it is evident, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that we find not the least mention made of the division of the canons into regular and secular before the eleventh century. And it is equally certain, that

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The principal Greek writers.

XXX. The most eminent Greek writers in this century, were,

Theophanes Cerameus, *i. e.* the potter, of whom there is yet extant a volume of Homilies, that are not altogether contemptible;

Nilus Doxopatrius, who was remarkable for his knowledge in matters relating to ecclesiastical polity;

Nicetas Pectoratus, who was a most strenuous defender of the religious sentiments and customs of the Greek church;

Michael Psellus, whose vast progress in various kinds of learning and science procured him a most distinguished and shining reputation;

Michael Cerularius, bishop or patriarch of Constantinople, who imprudently revived the controversy between the Greeks and Latins, which had been for some time happily suspended;

those canons who had nothing in common but their dwelling and table, were called secular; while those who had divested themselves of all private property, and had every thing, without exception, in common with their fraternity, were distinguished by the title of regular canons.

☞ To Dr. Mosheim's account of the canons, it may not be improper to add a few words concerning their introduction into England, and their progress and establishment among us. The order of regular canons of St. Augustin was brought into England by Adelwald, confessor to Henry I. who first erected a priory of his order at Nostel in Yorkshire, and had influence enough to have the church of Carlisle converted into an episcopal see, and given to regular canons, invested with the privilege of choosing their bishop. This order was singularly favoured and protected by Henry I. who gave them, in the year 1107, the priory of Dunstable, and by Queen Maud, who erected for them, the year following, the priory of the Holy Trinity in London, the prior of which was always one of the twenty-four aldermen. They increased so prodigiously, that besides the noble priory of Merton, which was founded for them in the year 1117, by Gilbert, an earl of the Norman blood, they had, under the reign of Edward I. fifty-three priories, as appears by the catalogue presented to that prince, when he obliged all the monasteries to receive his protection, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction.

Simeon, the Younger, author of a book of Meditations on the Duties of the Christian Life, which is yet extant;

Theophylact, a Bulgarian, whose illustrations of the sacred writings were received with universal approbation and esteem [q].

XXXI. The writers, who distinguished themselves most among the Latins, were they that follow: Latin writers.

Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, eminent for his love of letters, and his zeal for the education of youth; as also for various compositions, particularly his epistles, and famous for his excessive and enthusiastic attachment to the Virgin Mary [r];

Humbert, a Cardinal of the Roman church, who far surpassed all the Latins, both in the vehemence and learning which appeared in his controversial writings against the Greeks [s];

Petrus Damianus, who, on account of his genius, candour, probity, and various erudition, deserves to be ranked among the most learned and estimable writers of this century; though he was not altogether untainted with the reigning prejudices and defects of the times [t];

Marianus Scotus, whose Chronicle, with several other compositions, is yet extant;

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great genius and subtilty, deeply versed in the dialectics of this age, and most illustriously distinguished by his profound and extraordinary knowledge in theology [u];

[q] For a more ample account of these Greek writers, the reader may consult the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius.

[r] For a farther account of this eminent man, see the Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. vii. p. 261.

[s] See Martene, Thesaurus Anecdot. tom. v. p. 629.—Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. vii. p. 527.

[t] See the Acta Sanctor. Febr. tom. iii. p. 406.—General Dictionary, at the article Damien.—Casim. Oudini Diss. in tom. ii. Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles. p. 686.

[u] See the Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. ix. p. 398.—

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Lanfranc, also archbishop of Canterbury, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his Commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, as also by several other productions [*w*], which, considering the age in which he lived, discover an uncommon measure of sagacity and erudition [*x*];

Bruno of mount Cassin, and the other famous ecclesiastic of that name, who founded the monastery of the Carthusians;

Ivo, bishop of Chartres, who was so eminently distinguished by his zeal and activity in maintaining the rights and privileges of the church;

Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, who was a philosopher and a poet, as well as a divine, without being either eminent or contemptible in any of these characters [*y*]; but upon the whole, a man of considerable learning and capacity;

Gregory VII. that imperious and arrogant pontiff, of whom we have several productions, beside his Letters.

Rapin Thoyras, Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. p. 65. 166. de l'ed. en 4to.—Colonia, Hist. Litter. de Lyon, tom. ii. p. 210.—We have already given a more ample account of the eminent abilities and learned productions of Anselm.

☞ [*w*] Among those productions we may reckon Lanfranc's Letters to Pope Alexander II. to Hildebrand, while archdeacon of Rome, and to several bishops in England and Normandy; as also a Commentary upon the Psalms, a Treatise concerning Confession, an Ecclesiastical History, which is not extant, and a remarkable Dissertation concerning the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. In this last performance, Lanfranc endeavours to prove, against Berenger, the reality of a corporal presence in the eucharist; though it is manifest that this opinion was not the doctrine of the church of England, in the conclusion of the tenth, or the commencement of the following century. See Collier's Eccles. History of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 260. 263.

[*x*] Hist. Litter. de la France, tom. viii. p. 260.

[*y*] The Benedictine monks published in folio, at Paris, in the year 1708, the Works of Hildebert, illustrated by the observations of Beaugendre.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church in this Century.

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The state of religion.

I. It is not necessary to draw at full length the hideous portrait of the religion of this age. It may easily be imagined, that its features were full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue, and that the heads and rulers of the Christian church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct scandalous examples of the most flagitious crimes. The people were sunk in the grossest superstition; and employed all their zeal in the worship of images, and relics, and in the performance of a trifling round of ceremonies, which were imposed upon them by the tyranny of a despotic priesthood. The more learned it is true, retained still some notions of the truth, which, however, they obscured and corrupted by a wretched mixture of opinions and precepts, of which some were ludicrous, others pernicious, and the most of them equally destitute of truth and utility. There were, no doubt, in several places, judicious and pious men, who would have willingly lent a supporting hand to the declining cause of true religion; but the violent prejudices of a barbarous age rendered all such attempts not only dangerous, but even desperate: and those chosen spirits who had escaped the general contagion lay too much concealed, and had therefore too little influence, to combat, with success, the formidable patrons of impiety and superstition, who were extremely numerous, in all ranks and orders, from the throne to the cottage.

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Witnesses of the truth.

II. Notwithstanding all this we find, from the time of Gregory VII. several proofs of the zealous efforts of those, who are generally called, by the Protestants, the witnesses of the truth; by whom are meant, such pious and judicious Christians, as adhered to the pure religion of the gospel, and remained uncorrupted amidst the growth of superstition; who deplored the miserable state to which Christianity was reduced, by the alteration of its divine doctrines, and the vices of its profligate ministers; who opposed, with vigour, the tyrannic ambition, both of the lordly pontiff, and the aspiring bishops; and in some provinces privately, in others openly, attempted the reformation of a corrupt and idolatrous church, and of a barbarous and superstitious age. This was, indeed, bearing witness to the truth in the noblest manner, and it was principally in Italy and France that the marks of this heroic piety were exhibited. [☞ Nor is it at all surprising that the reigning superstition of the times met with this opposition; it is astonishing, on the contrary, that this opposition was not much greater and more universal, and that millions of Christians suffered themselves to be hoodwinked with such a tame submission, and closed their eyes upon the light with so little reluctance.] For, notwithstanding the darkness of the times, and the general ignorance of the true religion, that prevailed in all ranks and orders, yet the very fragments of the gospel (if we may use that term) which were still read and explained to the people, were sufficient, at least, to convince the most stupid and illiterate, that the religion, which was now imposed upon them, was not the true religion of Jesus; that the discourses, the lives, and morals of the clergy were directly opposite to what the divine Saviour required of his disciples, and to the rules he had laid down for the direction of their conduct;

that the pontiffs and bishops abused, in a scandalous manner, their power and opulence; and that the favour of God and the salvation exhibited in his blessed gospel, were not to be obtained by performing a round of external ceremonies, by pompous donations to churches and priests, or by founding and enriching monasteries, but by real sanctity of heart and manners.

III. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that they who undertook, with such zeal and ardour, the reformation of the church, were not, for the most part, equal to this arduous and important enterprise, and that, by avoiding, with more vehemence than circumspection, certain abuses and defects, they rushed unhappily into the opposite extremes. They all perceived the abominable nature of those inventions with which superstition had disfigured the religion of Jesus; but they had also lost sight of the true nature and genius of that celestial religion, that lay thus disfigured in the hands of a superstitious and dissolute priesthood. They were shocked at the absurdities of the established worship; but few of them were sufficiently acquainted with the sublime precepts and doctrines of genuine Christianity, to substitute in the place of this superstitious worship, a rational service. Hence their attempts of reformation, even where they were successful, were extremely imperfect, and produced little more than a motley mixture of truth and falsehood, of wisdom and indiscretion; of which we might allege a multitude of examples. Observing, for instance, that the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy were, in a great measure, occasioned by their excessive opulence and their vast possessions, they conceived rashly the highest ideas of the salutary effects of indigence, and looked upon voluntary poverty as the most eminent and illustrious virtue of a

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Christian minister. They had also formed to themselves a notion, that the primitive church was to be the standing and perpetual model, according to which the rites, government, and worship of all Christian churches were to be regulated in all the ages of the world; and that the lives and manners of the holy apostles were to be rigorously followed, in every respect, by all the ministers of Christ. [☞ These notions, which were injudiciously taken up, and blindly entertained (without any regard to the difference of times, places, circumstances, and characters, without considering that the provident wisdom of Christ and his apostles left many regulations to the prudence and piety of the governors of the church) were productive of many pernicious effects, and threw these good reformers, whose zeal was not always according to knowledge, from the extreme of superstition into the extreme of enthusiasm.] Many well-meaning persons, whose intentions were highly laudable, fell into great errors in consequence of these ill-grounded notions. Justly incensed at the conduct of the superstitious multitude who placed the whole of religion in external services, and hoped to secure their salvation by the performance of a laborious round of unmeaning rites and ceremonies, they rashly maintained, that true piety was to be confined entirely to the inward motions and affections of the soul, and to the contemplation of spiritual and divine things. In consequence of this specious, yet erroneous principle, they treated with the utmost contempt all the external parts of religious worship, and aimed at nothing less than the total suppression of sacraments, churches, religious assemblies of every kind, and Christian ministers of every order.

Commentators and expositors.

IV. Several of both the Greek and Latin writers employed their learned and pious labours in the

exposition and illustration of the holy scriptures. Among the Latins, Bruno wrote a commentary on the Book of Psalms, Lanfranc upon the Epistles of St. Paul, Berenger upon the Revelations of St. John, Gregory VII. upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, and others, upon other parts of the sacred writings. But all these expositors, in compliance with the prevailing custom of the times, either copied the explications of the ancient commentators, or made such whimsical applications of certain passages of scripture, both in explaining the doctrines, and in inculcating the duties of religion, that it is often difficult to peruse them without indignation or disgust. The most eminent of the Grecian expositors was Theophylact, a native of Bulgaria; though he also is indebted to the ancients, and, in a particular manner, to St. Chrysostom, for the greatest part of his most judicious observations [z]. Nor must we pass in silence the Commentary upon the Book of Psalms and the Song of Solomon, that was composed by the learned Michael Psellus: nor the Chain of Commentaries upon the Book of Job, which we owe to the industry of Nicetas.

Scholastic theology.

V. All the Latin doctors, if we except a few Hibernian divines, who blended with the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, the perplexing subtilties of an obscure philosophy, had hitherto derived their system of religion, and their explications of divine truth, either from the holy scriptures alone, or from these sacred oracles explained by the illustrations, and compared with the theology of the ancient doctors. But in this century, certain writers, and, among others, the famous

[z] For an account of Theophylact, see Rich. Simon, Hist. Critique des Principaux Commentateurs du N. T. ch. xxviii. p. 390. and Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, par Du Pin, tom. i. p. 310. where he also speaks largely concerning Nicetas and Œcumenius.

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Berenger [*a*], went much farther, and employed the rules of logic and the subtilties of metaphysical discussions, both in explaining the doctrines of scripture, and in proving the truth of their own particular opinions. Hence Lanfranc, the antagonist of Berenger, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, introduced into the field of religious controversy the same philosophical arms, and seemed, in general, desirous of employing the dictates of reason to illustrate and confirm the truths of religion. His example, in this respect, was followed by Anselm, his disciple and successor in the see of Canterbury, a man of a truly metaphysical genius, and capable of giving the greatest air of dignity and importance to the first philosopher. Such were the beginnings of that philosophical theology, which grew afterwards, by degrees, into a cloudy and enormous system, and from the public schools in which it was cultivated, acquired the name of scholastic divinity [*b*]. It is, however, necessary to observe, that the eminent divines, who first set on foot this new species of theology, and thus laudably maintained that most noble and natural connexion of faith with reason, and of religion with philosophy, were much more prudent and moderate than their followers, in the use and application of this conciliatory scheme. They kept, for the most part, within bounds, and wisely

☞ [*a*] Otherwise called Berengarius, and famous for the noble opposition he made to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which Lanfranc so absurdly pretended to support upon philosophical principles. The attempt of this latter to introduce the rules of logic into religious controversy would have been highly laudable, had not he perverted this respectable science to the defence of the most monstrous absurdities.

[*b*] See Chr. August. Heumanni Præfat. ad Tribbechovii Librum de Doctoribus Scholasticis, p. 14.—The sentiments of the learned, concerning the first author or inventor of the scholastic divinity, are collected by Jo. Franc. Buddeus, in his Isagoge ad Theolog. tom. i. p. 358.

reflected upon the limits of reason; their language was clear; the questions they proposed were instructive and interesting; they avoided all discussions that were only proper to satisfy a vain and idle curiosity; and, in their disputes and demonstrations, they made, generally speaking, a wise and sober use of the rules of logic, and of the dictates of philosophy [c]. [☞ Their fol-

[c] We shall here transcribe a passage from the works of Lanfranc, who is considered by many as the father of the scholastic system, that the reader may see how far the first schoolmen surpassed their disciples and followers in wisdom, modesty, and candour. We take this passage from that prelate's book concerning The Body and Blood of Christ *, and it is as follows: "Testis mihi Deus est et conscientia mea, quia in tractatu divinarum literarum nec proponere nec ad propositas respondere cuperem dialecticas quæstiones, vel earum solutiones. Et si quando materia disputandi talis est, ut hujus artis regulis valeat enucleatius explicari, in quantum possum, per æquipollentias propositionum tego artem, ne videar magis arte, quam veritate, sanctorumque patrum auctoritate confidere." Lanfranc here declares in the most solemn manner, even by an appeal to God and his conscience, that he was so far from having the least inclination to propose or to answer logical questions in the course of his theological labours, that, on the contrary, when he was forced to have recourse to the science of dialectic, in order the better to illustrate his subject, he concealed the succours he derived from thence with all possible care, lest he should seem to place more confidence in the resources of art than in the simplicity of truth and the authority of the holy fathers. These last words show plainly the two sources from whence the Christian doctors had hitherto derived all their tenets, and the arguments by which they maintained them, *viz.* from the holy scriptures, which Lanfranc here calls the truth, and from the writings of the ancient fathers of the church. To these two sources of theology and argumentation, a third was added in this century, even the science of logic, which, however, was only employed by the managers of controversy to repulse their adversaries, who came armed with syllogisms, or to remove difficulties which were drawn from reason and from the nature of things. But, in succeeding times, the two former sources were either entirely neglected or sparingly employed, and philosophical demonstration, or, at least, something that bore that name, was regarded as a sufficient support to the truths of religion.

* Cap. vii. p. 236. Opp. ed. Luc. Dacherii.

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lowers, on the contrary, ran with a metaphysical frenzy into the greatest abuses, and by the most unjustifiable perversion of a wise and excellent method of searching after, and confirming truth, they banished evidence out of religion, common sense out of philosophy, and erected a dark and enormous mass of pretended science, in which words passed for ideas, and sounds for sense.]

VI. No sooner was this new method introduced, than the Latin doctors began to reduce all the doctrines of religion into one permanent and connected system, and to treat theology as a science; an enterprize which had hitherto been attempted by none but Taio of Saragossa, a writer of the seventh century, and the learned Damascenas, who flourished among the Greeks in the following age. The Latin doctors had hitherto confined their theological labours to certain branches of the Christian religion, which they illustrated only on certain occasions. The first production which looked like a general system of theology was that of the celebrated Anselm; this, however, was surpassed by the complete and universal body of divinity, which was composed, towards the conclusion of this century, by Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, who seems to have been regarded both as the first and the best model in this kind of writing, by the innumerable legions of system-makers, who arose in succeeding times (*d*). This learned prelate demonstrated first the doctrines of his system by proofs drawn from the holy scriptures, and also from the writings of the

[*d*] This body of divinity, which was the first complete theological system that had been composed among the Latins, is inserted in the Works of Hildebert, published by Beaugendre, who shows evidently, in his Preface, that Peter Lombard, Pullus, and the other writers of theological systems, did no more than follow servilely the traces of Hildebert.

ancient fathers of the church; and in this he followed the custom that had prevailed in the preceding ages; but he went yet farther, and answered the objections, which might be brought against his doctrine, by arguments drawn from reason and philosophy; this part of his method was entirely new, and peculiar to the age in which he lived [*e*].

Moral writers.

VII. The moral writers of this century, who undertook to unfold the obligations of Christians, and to delineate the nature, the extent, and the various branches of true virtue and evangelical obedience, treated this most excellent of all sciences in a manner quite unsuitable to its dignity and importance. We find sufficient proofs of this in the moral writings of Peter Damien [*f*], and even of the learned Hildebert [*g*]. The moralists of this age generally confined themselves to a jejune explication of what are commonly called, the four cardinal virtues, to which they added the Ten Commandments, to complete their system. Anselm, the famous prelate of Canterbury, surpassed, indeed, all the moral writers of his time; the books which he composed with a design to promote practical religion, and more especially his Book of Meditations and Prayers, contain many excellent things, several happy

[*e*] It may not be improper to place here a passage which is taken from a treatise of Anselm's, entitled, Cur Deus Homo? since this passage was respected, by the first scholastic divines, as an immutable law in theology; "Sicut rectus ordo exigit," says the learned prelate, "ut profunda fidei Christianæ credamus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere: ita negligentia mihi videtur, si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus quod credimus intelligere:" which amounts to this, That we must first believe without examination, but must afterwards endeavour to understand what we believe.

[*f*] See Petrus Damianus, De Virtutibus.

[*g*] See Hildeberti Philosophia Moralis, et Libellus de IV. Virtutibus Honestæ Vitæ.

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thoughts expressed with much energy and unction. [☞ Nor did the mystic divines satisfy themselves with piercing, by ecstatic thought, and feeling, into the sublime regions of beauty and love; they conceived and brought forth several productions that were destined to diffuse the pure delights of union and communion through enamoured souls.] Johannes Johannellus, a Latin mystic, wrote a treatise concerning Divine Contemplation [*h*]; and Simeon the younger, who was a Grecian sage of the same visionary class, composed several discourses upon subjects of a like nature.

The state of controversial divinity.

VIII. Among the controversial writers of this century, we see the effects of the scholastic method that Berenger and Lanfranc had introduced into the study of theology. We see divines entering the lists armed with syllogisms, which they manage awkwardly, and aiming rather to confound their adversaries by the subtilties of logic, than to convince them by the power of evidence; while those who were unprovided with this philosophical armour, made a still more wretched and despicable figure, fell into the grossest and most perverse blunders, and seem to have written without either thinking of their subject or of the manner of treating it with success. Damianus, already mentioned, defended the truth of Christianity against the Jews; but his success was not equal either to the warmth of his zeal, or to the uprightness of his intentions. Samuel, a convert from Judaism to Christianity, wrote an elaborate treatise against those of his nation, which is still extant. But the noblest champion that appeared at this period of time in the cause of religion, was the famous Anselm, who attacked the enemies of Christianity, and the audacious contemners of all religion, in an in-

[*h*] See the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. viii. p. 48.

genious work [*i*], which was perhaps, by its depth and acuteness, above the comprehension of those whom it was designed to convince of their errors. [☞ For it happened, no doubt, in these earlier times, as it frequently does in our days, that many gave themselves out for unbelievers, who knew not the first principles of reasoning, and whose incredulity was the fruit of ignorance and presumption, nourished by licentiousness and corruption of heart.]

The controversy between the Greeks and Latins revived.

IX. The famous contest between the Greek and Latin churches, which, though not decided, had, however, been suspended for a considerable time, was imprudently revived, in the year 1053, by Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of a restless and turbulent spirit, who blew the flame of religious discord, and widened the fatal breach by new invectives and new accusations. The pretexts that were employed to justify this new rupture, were zeal for the truth, and an anxious concern about the interests of religion; but its true causes were the arrogance and ambition of the Grecian patriarch and the Roman pontiff. The latter was constantly forming the most artful stratagems to reduce the former under his imperious yoke; and, for this purpose, he left no means unemployed to gain over to his side the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, by withdrawing them from the jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople. The tumultuous and unhappy state of the Grecian empire was singularly favourable to his aspiring views, as the friendship and alliance of the Roman pontiff was highly useful to the Greeks in their struggles with the Saracens and the Normans, who were settled in Italy. On the other hand, the Grecian

[*i*] This work was entitled, Liber adversus Insipientem, *i. e.* The Fool Refuted.

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pontiff was not only determined to refuse obstinately the least mark of submission to his haughty rival, but was also laying schemes for extending his dominion, and for reducing all the Oriental patriarchs under his supreme jurisdiction. Thus the contending parties were preparing for the field of controversy, when Cerularius began the charge by a warm letter written in his own name, and in the name of Leo, bishop of Achrida, who was his chief counsellor, to John, bishop of Trani, in Apulia, in which he publicly accused the Latins of various errors [*k*]. Leo IX. who was then in the papal chair, answered this letter in a most imperious manner; and, not satisfied with showing his indignation by mere words, assembled a council at Rome, in which the Greek churches were solemnly excommunicated [*l*].

X. Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, who was now at the head of the Grecian empire, endeavoured to stifle this controversy in its birth, and, for that purpose, desired the Roman pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, to concert measures for restoring and confirming the tranquillity of the church. Three legates were accordingly sent from Rome to that imperial city, who brought with them letters from Leo IX. not only to the emperor, but also to the Grecian pontiff. These legates were cardinal Humbert, a man of a high and impetuous spirit, Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, and Frederic, archdeacon and chancellor of the church of Rome. The issue of this congress was unhappy in the highest degree, notwithstanding the propensity which the emperor, for political

[*k*] See an account of those errors, sect. xi.

[*l*] These letters of Cerularius and Leo are published in the Annals of Baronius, ad an. 1053.—The former is also inserted by Canisius, in his Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 281. ed. nov.—Leonis Concilia, &c.

reasons [*m*], discovered to the cause of the bishop of Rome. The arrogance of Leo IX. and his insolent letters, excited the highest indignation in the breast of Cerularius, and produced a personal aversion to this audacious pontiff, which inflamed instead of healing the wounds of the church; while, on the other hand, the Roman legates gave many and evident proofs that the design of their embassy was not to restore peace and concord, but to establish among the Greeks the supreme authority and the ghostly dominion of the Roman pontiff. Thus all hopes of a happy conclusion of these miserable divisions entirely vanished; and the Roman legates finding their efforts ineffectual to overcome the vigorous resistance of Cerularius, they, with the highest insolence, as well as imprudence, excommunicated publicly, in the church of St. Sophia, A. D. 1054, the Grecian patriarch, with Leo of Achrida, and all their adherents; and leaving a written act of their inhuman imprecations and anathemas upon the grand altar of that temple, they "shook the dust off their feet," and thus departed. This violent step rendered the evil incurable, which it was before not only possible, but perhaps easy, to remedy. The Grecian patriarch imitated the vehemence of the Roman legates, and did from resentment what they had perpetrated from a principle of ambition and arrogance. He excommunicated these legates with all their adherents and followers in a public council, and procured an order of the emperor for burning the act of excommunication which they had pronounced against the Greeks [*n*].

☞ [*m*] He stood greatly in need of the assistance of the Germans and Italians against the Normans, and hoped to obtain it by the good offices of the pope, who was in high credit with the emperor Henry III.

[*n*] Besides Baronius and other writers, whose accounts of this period of time are generally known, and not always

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These vehement measures were followed on both sides with a multitude of controversial writings, that were filled with the most bitter and irritating invectives, and served no other purpose than to add fuel to the flame.

XI. Cerularius added new accusations to the ancient charge, which had been brought by Photius against the Latin churches, of which the principal was, that they used unleavened bread in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This accusation (such were the times!) was looked upon as a matter of the most serious nature, and of the highest consequence; it was, therefore, debated between the Greeks and Latins with the utmost vehemence, nor did the Grecian and Roman pontiffs contend with more fury and bitterness about the extent of their power, and the limits of their jurisdiction, than the Greek and Latin churches disputed about the use of unleavened bread. The other heads of accusation that were brought against the Latins by the Grecian pontiff, discovered rather a malignant and contentious spirit, and a profound ignorance of genuine Christianity, than a generous zeal for the cause of truth. He complains, for instance, in the heaviest manner, that the Latins do not abstain from the use of blood, and of things strangled; that their monks eat lard, and permit the use of flesh to such of the brethren as are sick or infirm; that their bishops adorn their fingers with rings, as if they were

exact, see Mabillon, Annal. Bened. tom. v. lib. lx. ad a. 1053, et Præf. ad Sæc. vi. Actor. SS. Benedicti, part II. p. 1.—Leo Allatius, De Libris Græcor. Ecclesiast. Diss. ii. p. 160. ed. Fabricii, et De perpetua Eccles. Orient. et Occident. Consensione, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 614.—Mich. le Quien, Oriente Christiano, tom. i. p. 260. et Diss. Damascena Prima, sect. xxxi. p. 16.—Hermanni Historia Concertationum de Pane Azymo et Fermentato, p. 59. published at Leipsic in the year 1739.—Jo. Bapt. Cotelerius, Monum. Ecclesiæ Græcæ, tom. ii. p. 108.

bridegrooms; that their priests are beardless; and that in the right of baptism they confined themselves to one single immersion [o]. Such were the miserable and trifling objects that excited a fatal schism, and kindled a furious war between the Greeks and Latins, who carried their animosities to the greatest lengths, and loaded each other with reciprocal invectives and imprecations. The attentive reader will form from hence a just idea of the deplorable state of religion both in the eastern and western world at this period, and will see, in this dreadful schism, the true origin of the various sects that multiplied the different forms of superstition and error in these unhappy times.

A new controversy concerning the sanctity of images.

XII. This vehement dispute, which the Greeks had to carry on against the Latin churches, was well nigh followed by a fatal division among themselves. Amidst the straits and difficulties to which the empire was now reduced by the expenses of war, and the calamities of the times, Alexius not only employed the treasures of the church, in order to answer the exigencies of the state, but ordered also the plates of silver, and the figures of that metal that adorned the portals of the churches, to be taken down and converted into money. This measure excited the indignation of Leo bishop of Chalcedon, a man of austere morals, and of an obstinate spirit, who maintained that the emperor, in this step, was guilty of sacrilege; and, to prove this charge, published a treatise, in which he affirmed, that in the images of Jesus Christ, and of the saints, there resided a

[o] See Cerularii Epistola ad Johannem Tranensem in Canisii Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 281. where the reader will also find the refutation of this letter by Cardinal Humbert.—See likewise Cerularii Epistola ad Petrum Antiochens. in Cotelerii Monumentis Ecclesiæ Græc. tom. ii. p. 138. add to these Martene, Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. v. p. 847.

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certain kind of inherent sanctity, that was a proper object of religious worship; and that, therefore, the adoration of Christians ought not to be confined to the persons represented by these images, but extended also to the images themselves. This new controversy excited various tumults and seditions among the people, to suppress which the emperor assembled a council at Constantinople, in which the question was terminated by the following decisions: "that the images of Christ and of the saints were to be honoured only with a relative worship [*p*], which was to be offered, not to the substance or matter of which these images were composed, but to the form and features of which they bore the impression; that the representations of Christ, and of the saints, whether in painting or sculpture, did in no sense partake of the nature of the divine Saviour, or of these holy men, though they were enriched with a certain communication of divine grace; and, lastly, that invocation and worship were to be addressed to the saints, only as the servants of Christ, and on account of their relation to him, as their master." These decisions, absurd and superstitious as they were, were not enough so for Leo, the idolatrous bishop of Chalcedon, who maintained his monstrous system with obstinacy, and was, for that reason, sent into banishment [*q*].

Controversies in the Latin church about the Lord's Supper.

XIII. The famous dispute concerning the presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist was revived about the middle of this century in the Latin church. Hitherto the disputants on

[*p*] Σχετικῶς προσκυνοῦμεν, ου λατρευτικῶς τὰς εἰκόνας.

[*q*] An ample account of this whole matter is given by Anna Comnena, in her Alexiad. lib. v. p. 104. lib. vii. p. 158. edit. Venet.—The acts of this council, the very mention of which is omitted by several historians of considerable note, are published by Montfaucon, in his Bibliotheca Coisliniana, p. 103.

both sides had proposed their jarring opinions with the utmost freedom, unrestrained by the despotic voice of authority, since no council had given a definitive sentence upon this matter, nor prescribed a rule of faith to terminate all inquiry and debate [r]. Hence it was, that, in the beginning of this century, Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, affirmed, in opposition to the general opinion of the times, that none but the sincere and upright Christian, none but saints and real believers, received the body of Christ in the holy sacrament. This opinion, which was broached in the year 1004, was every way proper to excite rumours among the people; but these its natural effects were happily prevented by the influence of Robert, king of France, and the wise counsels of some prudent friends who hindered the fanatical prelate from disseminating this whimsical invention [s]. It was not so easy to extinguish the zeal, or to stop the mouth of the famous Berenger, principal of the public school of Tours, and afterwards archbishop of Angers, a man of a most acute and subtile genius, and highly renowned both on account of his extensive learning, and the exemplary sanctity of his life and manners [t]. This eminent ecclesiastic maintained publicly, in the year 1045, the doctrine of Johannes Scotus, opposed warmly the mon-

[r] The various opinions concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, that were embraced during this century, are collected by Martene from an ancient manuscript, and published in his Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur, tom. ii. p. 126.

[s] See Du Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 354.

[t] See the Life of Berenger in the Works of Hildebert, archdeacon of Mans, p. 1324.—See also Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. viii. p. 197.—Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 304. and the authors mentioned by Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi. tom. i. p. 570. It is probably by a press error, that Hildebert is styled Archbishop instead of Archdeacon, by Paris Hist. lib. i. p. 10. edit. Watts.

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strous opinions of Paschasius Radbert, which were adapted to captivate a superstitious multitude by exciting their astonishment, and persevered with a noble obstinacy in teaching, that the bread and wine were not changed into the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, but preserved their natural and essential qualities, and were no more than figures and external symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour.—This wise and rational doctrine was no sooner published, than it was opposed by certain doctors in France and Germany; but the Roman pontiff Leo IX. attacked it with peculiar vehemence and fury in the year 1050; and in two councils, the one assembled at Rome, and the other at Vercelli, had the doctrine of Berenger solemnly condemned, and the book of Scotus, from which it was drawn, committed to the flames. This example was followed by the council of Paris, which was summoned the very same year by Henry I. and in which Berenger, and his numerous adherents, were menaced with all sort of evils, both spiritual and temporal. These threats were executed, in part, against this unhappy prelate, whom Henry deprived of all his revenues; but neither threatenings, nor fines, nor synodical decrees, could shake the firmness of his mind, or engage him to renounce the doctrine he had embraced.

The pontiffs strive, in vain, to put an end to this debate.

XIV. After these proceedings, the controversy was for some years happily suspended, and Berenger, whose patrons were as numerous as his enemies were formidable [*u*], enjoyed, for a while, the sweets of liberty and peace. His enemies, however, after the death of Leo IX. rekindled the flame of religious discord, and persuaded his successor Victor II. to examine anew

[*u*] His most formidable enemy and rival was Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury.

the doctrine of Berenger. The pontiff complied, and sent his legates to two different councils that were assembled at Tours, in the year 1054 [*w*], for that purpose. In one of these councils the famous Hildebrand, who was afterwards pontiff under the title of Gregory VII. appeared in the character of legate, and opposed the new doctrine with the utmost vehemence. Berenger was also present at this assembly, and, overpowered with threats, rather than convinced by reason and argument, he not only abandoned his opinions, but (if we may believe his adversaries, to whose testimony we are confined in this matter,) abjured them solemnly, and in consequence of this humbling step, made his peace with the church.—This abjuration, however, was far from being sincere, and the docility of Berenger was no more than an act of dissimulation; for soon after this period, he taught anew, though with more circumspection and prudence, the opinions he had formerly professed. That this conduct here appears mean and dishonest, is indeed evident; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with the transactions of these councils to fix precisely the degree of his crime.

XV. The account of Berenger's perfidy being brought to Nicolas II. the exasperated pontiff summoned him to Rome, A. D. 1058, and terrified him in such a manner in the council held there the following year, that he declared his readiness to embrace and adhere to the doctrines which that venerable assembly should think proper to impose upon his faith. Humbert was accordingly appointed unanimously by Nicolas and the council to draw up a confession of faith for Berenger, who signed it publicly, and confirmed

☞ [*w*] Other historians mention but one council, and place it in the year 1055.

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his adherence to it by a solemn oath. In this confession there was, among other tenets equally absurd, the following declaration, that "the bread and wine, after consecration, were not only a sacrament, but also the real body and blood of Jesus Christ; and that this body and blood were handled by the priests and consumed by the faithful, and not in a sacramental sense, but in reality and truth, as other sensible objects are." This doctrine was so monstrously nonsensical, and was such an impudent insult upon the very first principles of reason, that it could have nothing alluring to a man of Berenger's acute and philosophical turn, nor could it possibly become the object of his serious belief, as appeared soon after this odious act of dissimulation; for no sooner was he returned into France, than taking refuge in the countenance and protection of his ancient patrons, he expressed the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the doctrines he had been obliged to profess at Rome, abjured them solemnly both in his discourse and in his writings, and returned zealously to the profession and defence of his former, which had always been his real opinion. Alexander II. employed the seducing influence of soft and friendly expostulation to engage Berenger to dissemble anew, or, in other words, to return from his pretended apostasy; but his remonstrances were ineffectual, and that perhaps, in a great measure, because this rebellious son of a superstitious church was powerfully supported in the maintenance of his opinions. Hence the controversy was prolonged, during many years, by a multitude of writings on both sides of the question, and the followers of Berenger increased from day to day.

XVI. Gregory VII. whose enterprising spirit no difficulties nor oppositions could discourage, was no sooner raised to the pontificate than he un-

dertook to terminate this important controversy, and, for that purpose, sent an order to Berenger, in the year 1078, to repair to Rome. Considering the natural character of this pontiff, his conduct in this affair was highly laudable, and discovered a degree of impartiality and candour, which his proceedings upon other occasions gave little reason to expect. He seems to have had a high esteem for Berenger; and, in the particular points in which he was obliged to oppose him, he did it, with all possible mildness, and with a tenderness which showed that he acted rather from a forced compliance with the clamours of his adversaries, than from inclination or principle. In the council that was held at Rome towards the conclusion of the year 1078, he permitted Berenger to draw up a new confession of his faith, and to renounce that which had been composed by Humbert, though it had been solemnly approved and confirmed by Nicolas II. and a Roman council. The sagacious pontiff perceived clearly the absurdity of Humbert's confession, and therefore revoked it, though it had been rendered sacred by papal authority [x]. In consequence of this, the persecuted prelate made a second declaration, confirmed by an oath, that he would adhere for the future to the following propositions: That "the bread laid upon the altar became, after consecration, the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and now sits at the right hand of the Father: and that the wine

[x] It is worthy of observation, that Gregory VII. whose zeal in extending the jurisdiction, and exalting the authority of the Roman pontiffs, surpassed that of all his predecessors, acknowledged, at least tacitly, by this step, that a pope and council might err, and had erred in effect. How otherwise could he allow Berenger to renounce a confession of faith, that had been solemnly approved and confirmed by Nicolas II. and a Roman council?

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placed upon the altar became, after consecration, the true blood, which flowed from the side of Christ." The pontiff was satisfied with this declaration, which was far from producing the same effect upon the enemies of Berenger: they showed that it was ambiguous, and so it was in reality; and they insisted that Berenger should be obliged not only to sign another declaration, less vague and equivocal, but should also be required to prove his sincerity by the fiery trial. Gregory refused absolutely this latter demand, and would have equally refused the other, had not his favourable intentions towards Berenger yielded to the importunate clamours of his enemies and persecutors.

XVII. The pontiff, therefore, granted that part of their demand that related to a new declaration; and in a council held at Rome, A. D. 1079, had a third confession of faith drawn up, which was somewhat less absurd than the first, though much more harsh than the second, and to which Berenger, after reading and subscribing it in the midst of the assembly, was obliged to declare his assent by a solemn oath. By this assent, he professed to believe, "That the bread and wine were, by the mysterious influence of the holy prayer, and the words of our Redeemer, substantially changed into the true, proper, and vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ:" and to remove all grounds of suspicion, to dispel all doubt about the reality of his attachment to this ridiculous system, he added to his second confession [*y*] a solemn declaration, that "the bread and wine, after consecration, were converted into the real body and blood of Christ, not only in quality of external signs and sacramental representations, but in their essential properties, and in substantial reality."

[*y*] Mentioned in the preceding section.

No sooner had Berenger made this strange declaration, than the pontiff redoubled the marks of esteem which he had formerly shown him, and sent him back to his country loaded with the most honourable testimonies of his liberality and friendship. The double-minded doctor did not, however, think himself bound by this declaration, solemn as it was; and therefore retracted publicly, upon his return to his residence, what he had subscribed as his real sentiments in the council of Rome, and went even so far as to compose an elaborate refutation of the doctrine to which he had been engaged to profess his assent. This new change excited a warm and vehement controversy, in which Lanfranc and Guitmund endeavoured to perplex Berenger with their sophistry, and to overwhelm him with their invectives. Gregory VII. to whose papal thunder the affronted council looked with impatience, seemed neither surprised nor offended by the inconstancy of Berenger, nor did he take any step which could testify the smallest mark of resentment against this pretended apostate. From hence it appears more than probable that the second confession of Berenger had entirely satisfied that pontiff; and that the violent imposition of the third was by no means agreeable to Gregory, who seems to have adopted, in a great measure, if not wholly, the sentiments of Berenger [z].

[z] A remarkable treatise of Berenger's composition, which has been published by Martene, in his Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. iv. p. 99, 100. will contribute to cast a satisfactory light upon this whole affair, and will fully unfold the real sentiments of Gregory concerning the eucharist. For from this piece it is undoubtedly evident, 1st, That Berenger was esteemed and favoured in a singular manner by Gregory VII. 2dly, That this pontiff was of the same opinion with Berenger concerning the eucharist; it is certain, at least, that he was for adhering to the words of scripture in this matter, and was eager in suppressing all curious researches, and all positive decisions concerning the manner of

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XVIII. Amidst the clamours of his incensed adversaries, Berenger observed a profound silence,

Berenger's fate, and the progress of his doctrine.

Christ's presence in the holy sacrament. This appears evidently from the following words which he addressed to Berenger before the meeting of the last council of Rome, and in which he speaks of his design to consult the Virgin Mary concerning the conduct which it was proper for him to observe in the course of this controversy: "Ego plane te" (says the pontiff in the 108th page of the work cited in the beginning of this note) "de Christi sacrificio secundum scripturas bene sentire non dubito; tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est, ad B. Mariam de his quæ movent recurrere—imposui religioso cuidam amico—a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret, sed verbis commendaret, quorsum me de negotio quod in manibus habebam de Christi sacrificio reciperem, in quo immotus persisterem." We see here, plainly, that Gregory expresses the strongest propensity to the sentiments of Berenger, not, however, without some hesitation concerning the manner in which he was to conduct himself, and also concerning the precise doctrine which it was necessary to embrace in relation to the presence of Christ in the eucharist. It was this hesitation which led him to consult the Virgin Mary, whose answer the pontiff gives in the following words: "A. B. Maria audivit et ad me retulit, nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum, nisi quod tenerent authenticæ scripturæ, contra quas Berengarius nihil habebat. Hoc tibi manifestare volui, ut securiorem ad nos fiduciam et alacriorem spem habeas." Here we see an answer of the Virgin pronouncing that it was necessary to adhere to the express declarations of scripture concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament; and whether Gregory was fanatical enough to confide in this answer as real, or rogue enough to forge it, it is still certain, that he confined his belief concerning the point in debate to the language of scripture, and held that the true body and blood of Christ were exhibited in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, though it was neither necessary nor expedient to inquire into the nature or manner of this mysterious presence. 3dly, It appears manifest from the treatise already mentioned, that the assembling the second council, and the imposition of another confession of faith, upon the conscience of Berenger, were measures into which Gregory was forced by the enemies of that ecclesiastic. "Dejectus est," says Berenger, speaking of that pontiff, "importunitate Paduani scurræ, non episcopi, et Pisani non episcopi, sed antichristi . . . ut permitteret calumniatoribus veritatis in posteriori quadragesimali concilio scriptum a se firmatum in priori mutari." 4thly, We see here the true

and was prudent enough to return no answer to their bitter and repeated invectives. Fatigued with a controversy, in which the first principles of reason were so impudently insulted, and exhausted by an opposition which he was unable to overcome, he abandoned all his worldly concerns, and retired to the isle of St. Cosme, in the neighbourhood of Tours, where he spent the remainder of his days in fasting, prayer, and pious exercises. In the year 1088, death put an end to the affliction he suffered in his retirement, from a bitter reflection upon the dissimulation he had been guilty of at Rome, and to the penitential acts of mortification and austerity, to which he seems to have submitted with a design to expiate the enormity of his criminal compliance, and the guilt of his perjury [*a*]. He left behind him in

reason why Gregory showed not the smallest mark of resentment against Berenger, when, upon his return to his own country, he violated the promise by which he had so solemnly bound himself at the last council, and refuted the confession to which he had sworn his assent. For the pontiff was very far from adopting the sentiments of those who had drawn up or suggested that monstrous confession, and esteemed it sufficient to believe with Berenger, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ were exhibited to Christians in the eucharist. Hence he left the violent adversaries of his persecuted friend to murmur, scribble, bawl, and refute, while he himself observed a profound silence, and persisted in his resolution to put that unhappy man to no farther trouble. It is, however, proper to observe, that in the same book from whence these particulars are taken, we find Berenger addressing himself, with the utmost humility, to the divine mercy, for the pardon of the crime of dissimulation and perjury he had committed at Rome: and confessing that the fear of death had extorted from him oaths and declarations diametrically opposite to his real sentiments, and engaged him to subscribe to a set of tenets which he abhorred. "Deus omnipotens," says he, "miserere, fons misericordiarum, tantum sacrilegium agnoscenti."

[*a*] This will appear evident to such as peruse the treatise of his composition, which we have mentioned in the preceding note, as published in Martene's Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. iv. p. 109.

the minds of the people a deep impression of his extraordinary sanctity; and his followers were as numerous as his fame was illustrious [*b*]. There have been disputes among the learned about the real sentiments of this eminent man: yet notwithstanding the art which he sometimes used to conceal his opinions, and the ambiguity that is often remarkable in his expressions, whoever examines with impartiality and attention such of his writings as are yet extant, will immediately perceive, that he looked upon the bread and wine in the sacrament as no more than the signs or symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour [*c*]. In this opinion Berenger persevered to the last; nor have we any authentic proof of

[*b*] The canons of the cathedral of Tours continue to honour the memory of Berenger by an annual procession, in which they perform a solemn service at his tomb in the isle of St. Cosme. See Moleon, Voyages Liturgiques, p. 130.

[*c*] Mabillon and other Roman catholic writers, as also a few Lutheran divines, are of opinion that Berenger denied only the doctrine of Transubstantiation, while he maintained, at the same time, the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist. And this opinion will, indeed, appear plausible to such as consider only the declaration he signed in the first council at Rome, to which he was summoned by Gregory VII. and which he never retracted, without comparing this declaration with the rest of his writings. On the other hand, Usher, Basnage, and almost all the writers of the reformed church maintain, that the doctrine of Berenger was exactly the same with that which Calvin afterwards adopted; and I cannot help joining with them in this opinion, when I peruse attentively the following words of his Letter to Almanus, published in Martene's Thesaur. tom. iv. p. 109. "Constat," says Berenger in express terms, "verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa, proponi, sed spiritualiter interiori homini verum in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum, inattritumque spiritualiter manducari." These words demonstrate so clearly, that, by the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, Berenger meant no more than a spiritual presence, that they dispel all doubt about his real sentiments, though, upon other occasions, he concealed these sentiments under dubious expressions, to deceive his adversaries.

his having departed from it before his death, as some of the Roman catholic writers vainly pretend [*d*].

[*d*] It is well known what laborious efforts the Roman catholic writers have employed to persuade us, that Berenger, before his death, abandoned the opinion he had so long and so warmly defended, and returned to the doctrine of the church of Rome concerning the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist. But when we enquire into the reasons on which this assertion is founded, we shall immediately perceive their weakness and insufficiency. They allege, in the first place, that Berenger gave an account of his doctrine and belief in the council of Bourdeaux, A. D. 1087; and add to this, that the ancient writers applaud his penitential sentiments, and affirm that he died in the catholic faith. In all this, however, we see no proof of Berenger's retractation. He adhered, indeed, to the confession of faith, which he had subscribed and adopted in the first of the two Roman councils, to which he had been summoned by Gregory VII. and which that pontiff judged sufficient to clear him from the imputation of heresy; and they who confined their attention to the literal sense of the words of that confession, without considering their spirit, and the different meanings of which they were susceptible, might easily imagine that Berenger's confession was agreeable to the doctrine of the church. Gregory, in order to pacify matters, confirmed them in this notion; and though he was well informed of Berenger's having retracted the confession which he had signed in the last Roman council before which he appeared, and of his opposing, with the utmost warmth, the opinion he had there so solemnly professed, yet he let the inconstant doctor remain unmolested, and thereby tacitly acquitted him of the crime and the error that were laid to his charge.

It is of the utmost importance to observe here, that the Roman church was not come, in this century, to a fixed determination concerning the nature and manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist. This appears most evidently from the three confessions which Berenger signed by the order of three councils, which confessions differed from each other, not only in the terms and the turn of expression, but also in the opinions and doctrines they contained. Pope Nicolas II. and the council he assembled at Rome, A. D. 1059, obliged him to subscribe, as the true and orthodox doctrine of the church, the first of these confessions, which was composed by Cardinal Humbert. This confession was however rejected, not only as harsh in point of expression, but also as erroneous

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XIX. It is not rare to find, in the history of the church, the most trifling objects exciting the

A controversy concerning Martial.

and unsound, by Gregory and the two Roman councils, which he had expressly summoned to enquire into that matter; for had Humbert's declaration appeared to the pontiff to be a just expression of the doctrine and sense of the church concerning the eucharist, neither he nor the succeeding councils would have permitted other forms of doctrine to be substituted in its place. Gregory, as we have already seen, was of opinion, that it was highly improper to pry with too much curiosity into the mysteries of the eucharist, and that, laying aside all disputes concerning the manner of Christ's presence in that holy institution, it was safest to adhere to the plain words of scripture; and as this was also the opinion of Berenger, and was plainly expressed in his confession of faith, the judicious pontiff pronounced him innocent. But a following council departed from this equitable sentence of Gregory, who, though with much reluctance, was induced to confirm their rigorous decision; and hence arose a third confession, which was extremely different from the two preceding ones. We may remark, by the by, that in this controversy the councils seem plainly to have swayed the pontiffs, since we see the obstinate, the invincible Gregory, yielding, against his will, to one of these clamorous assemblies. Berenger had no sooner got out of the hands of his enemies, than he returned to the second confession, which the pontiff had approved, and publicly declaimed against that which had been imposed upon him in the last Roman council before which he had appeared, without receiving the least mark of disapprobation from Gregory.—From this it was natural to conclude, that although he opposed the decree of that council, he adopted nevertheless the opinion of the pope and of the church.

In the account which I have here given of this memorable controversy, I have not only consulted the ancient records relating to that matter, which have been made public (for several of them lie as yet in MSS. in the cabinets of the curious), but have also been assisted by the labours of those among the learned, who have treated that important branch of Ecclesiastical History in the most accurate and ample manner: such as first, Franc. de Roye's book, published at Angers in the year 1656; "Ad Can. Ego Berengarius 41. de consecrat, distinct. 2. Ubi Vita, Hæresis, et Pœnitentia Berengarii Andegavensis Archidiaconi, et ad Josephi Locum de Christo" (a book which is extremely curious and very little known). Mabillon's Præf. ad tom. ix. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. seu Sæc. vi. part II. p. 4. et Dissert. de multiplici

warmest and most vehement controversies. Such was the dispute that arose in France, in the year 1023, between the priests and monks of Limoges, concerning the place that was to be assigned in the public liturgy to Martial, the first bishop of that diocese. One party, headed by Jordan, bishop of Limoges, were for placing him among the confessors; while Hugo, abbot of the monastery of St. Martial, maintained, that the prelate in question was to be ranked among the apostles, and branded, with the opprobrious and heretical title of Ebionites, all such as adhered to the proposal of Jordan. This momentous affair was debated first, in a council held at Poitiers in the year 1023, and in another assembled at Paris the year following: in which latter it was determined that Martial was to be honoured with the title of an apostle, and that all who refused him this eminent rank were to be considered as Ebionites, who, as is well known, confined the number of the apostles to twelve, that they might exclude St. Paul from that sacred order. The decree, however, of this council did not produce the effects that were expected from it; for it exasperated, instead of calming the zeal and animosity of the contending parties, so that this miserable dispute became daily more universal, and spread like a contagion through all the provinces of France. The matter

damnatione, fidei professione et lapsu, which is published in his Analecta Veteris Ævi, tom. ii. p. 456. De Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris, tom. i. p. 304. tom. ii. p. 452. The authors of the reformed church, which I have followed in this controversy, are, Usserius, De Successione Ecclesiar. Christianar. in occidente, cap. vii. sec. 24. p. 195.—Basnage, Hist. des Eglises Reformees, tom. i. p. 105, and Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. ii. p. 1391.—Cas. Oudin, Dissert. de Doctrina et Scriptis Berengarii in Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. p. 624. There appears more or less a certain spirit of partiality in all these writers; but this spirit is particularly notorious among those of the church of Rome.

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was at length brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, John XIX. who decided it in favour of the monks; and, in a letter addressed to Jordan and the other bishops of the nation, pronounced Martial worthy of the title and honours of an apostle. This decision produced the most substantial and permanent effects: for in a council assembled at Limoges, A. D. 1029, Jordan declared his acquiescence in the papal sentence: in a provincial council at Bourges, two years after, Martial was associated to the company of the apostles with great solemnity, in consequence of the decision of the Roman see, and about the same time this controversy was completely and finally terminated in a numerous council assembled at Limoges, in which the prayers that had been consecrated to the memory of the apostle Martial, by the zealous pontiff, were publicly recited [e]. The warm contenders for the apostleship of Martial asserted, that he was one of the seventy disciples of Christ, from whence they concluded, that he had an equal title with Paul and Barnabas to the honour of an apostle.

[e] See Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. i. p. 372. 101.—J. Longeval, Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. vii. p. 188, 189. 231.—The Benedictine monks, in their Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. Append. Documentor. p. 162. have published the Letter of Jordan to Pope Benedict VIII. against the Apostleship of Martial. The decrees of the councils of Bourges and Limoges concerning this matter are published by Labbe, in his Biblioth. Nova Manuscriptor. tom. ii. p. 766. Mabillon has given an ample account of Ademar, a monk of St. Cybar, the first promoter of this ridiculous controversy, in his Annal. Ord. S. Benedict. tom. iv. p. 318. and among the original papers subjoined to that volume has published a letter wrote by that monk in favour of the apostleship of Martial. See also the Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. vii. p. 301.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

CENT. XI. PART II.

I. THE form of public worship which was established at Rome had not, as yet, been universally received in the western provinces. This was looked upon by the imperious pontiffs as an insult upon their authority, and therefore they used their utmost efforts to introduce the Roman ceremonies every where, and to promote a perfect uniformity of worship in every part of the Latin world. Gregory VII. employed all his diligence, activity, and zeal, in this enterprise, as appears from several passages in his letters, and he, perhaps, alone was equal to the execution of such an arduous attempt. The Spaniards had long distinguished themselves above all other nations, by the noble and resolute resistance they made to the despotic attempts of the popes upon this occasion; for they adhered to their ancient Gothic liturgy [*f*] with the utmost obstinacy, and could not be brought to change it for the method of worship established at Rome. Alexander II. had indeed proceeded so far, in the year 1068, as to persuade the inhabitants of Arragon into his measures [*g*], and to conquer the aversion which the Catalonians had discovered for the Roman worship. But the honour of finishing this difficult work, and bringing it to perfection, was reserved for Gregory VII. who, without interruption, exhorted, threatened, admonished, and

[*f*] See Mabillon, De Liturgia Gallicana, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 10.—Jo. Bona, Rerum Liturgicarum lib. i. cap. xi. p. 220. opp. —Petr. Le Brun, Explication des Ceremonies de la Masse, tom. ii. Diss. v. p. 272.

[*g*] Petr. de Marca, Histoire de Bearn, liv. ii. cap. ix.

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intreated Sancius and Alphonso, the kings of Arragon and Castile, until, fatigued with the importunity of this restless pontiff, they consented to abolish the Gothic service in their churches, and to introduce the Roman in its place. Sancius was the first who complied with the request of the pontiff, and, in the year 1080, his example was followed by Alphonso. The methods which the nobles of Castile employed to decide the matter were very extraordinary. First, they chose two champions, who were to determine the controversy by single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, the other for the Gothic. The first trial ended in favour of the latter; for the Gothic hero proved victorious. The fiery trial was next made use of to terminate the dispute; the Roman and Gothic liturgies were committed to the flames, which, as the story goes, consumed the former, while the latter remained unblemished and entire. Thus were the Gothic rites crowned with a double victory, which, however, was not sufficient to maintain them against the authority of the pope, and the influence of the queen Constantia, who determined Alphonso in favour of the Roman service [*h*].

Divine worship performed in an unknown and foreign tongue.

II. The zeal of the Roman pontiffs for introducing the uniformity of worship into the western churches may be, in some measure, justified; but their not permitting every nation to celebrate divine worship in their mother tongue was absolutely inexcusable. While, indeed, the Latin language was in general use amongst the western nations, or, at least, was unknown to but a very small number, there was no reason why it should not be employed in the public service of the church. But when the decline of the Roman em-

[*h*] Bona, Rerum Liturgicar. lib. i. cap. xi. p. 216.—Le Brun, loc. citat. p. 292.—Jo. de Ferreras, Hist. de l'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 237. 241. 246.

pire drew on by degrees the extinction of its language in several places, and its decay in all the western provinces, it became just and reasonable that each people should serve the Deity in the language they understood, and which was peculiar to them. This reasoning, however evident and striking, had no sort of influence upon the Roman pontiffs, who, neither in this nor in the following centuries, could be persuaded to change the established custom, but persisted, on the contrary, with the most senseless obstinacy, in retaining the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship, even when it was no longer understood by the people [*i*]. This strange conduct has been variously accounted for by different writers, who have tortured their inventions to find out its secret reasons, and have imagined many that seem extremely improbable and far-fetched. A superstitious and extravagant veneration for whatever carried the hoary aspect of a remote antiquity was undoubtedly the principal reason that rendered the pontiffs unwilling to abolish the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship. The same absurd principle produced a similar effect in the eastern churches; thus the Egyptian Christians perform their religious service in the language of the ancient Copts, the Jacobites and the Nestorians in the Syriac, and the Abyssinians in the old Ethiopic, though all these languages have been long since obsolete, and are thereby become absolutely unintelligible to the multitude [*k*].

III. It would be tedious to enumerate, in a circumstantial manner, the new inventions that Ceremonies multiplied.

[*i*] Usserius, Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis ab Hen. Whartono edita et aucta, Londini, 1690, in 4to.

[*k*] See Euseb. Renaudot, Dissertat. de Liturgiarum Oriental. Origine et Antiquitate, cap. vi. p. 40.

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were imposed upon Christians, in this century, under the specious titles of piety and zeal, by the superstitious despotism of an imperious clergy. It would be also endless to mention the additions that were made to former inventions, the multiplication, for example, of the rites and ceremonies that were used in the worship of saints, relics, and images, and the new directions that were administered to such as undertook pilgrimages, or other superstitious services of that nature. We shall only observe, that during the whole of this century, all the European nations were most diligently employed in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches [*l*]. Nor will this appear surprising, when we consider, that, in the preceding century, all Europe was alarmed with a dismal apprehension that the day of judgment was at hand, and that the world was approaching to its final dissolution; for among the other effects of this panic terror, the churches and monasteries were suffered to fall into ruin, or at least to remain without repair, from a notion that they would soon be involved in the general fate of all sublunary things. But when these apprehensions were removed, things immediately put on a new face; the tottering temples were rebuilt, and the greatest zeal, attended with the richest and most liberal donations, was employed in restoring the sacred edifices to their former lustre, or rather in giving them new degrees of magnificence and beauty.

[*l*] Glaber Rodulphus, Hist. lib. iii. cap. iv. in Duchesne's Scriptor. Franc. tom. iv. p. 217. "Infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno contigit in universo pæne terrarum orbe, precipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum basilicas."

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church, during this Century.

CENT. XI. PART II.

Ancient sects.

I. The state of the ancient sects, and particularly of the Nestorians and Monophysites, who resided in Asia and Egypt, under the Mahometan government, was now much the same that it had been in the preceding century, neither extremely prosperous, nor absolutely miserable. The case of the Manichæans, or Paulicians, whom the Grecian emperors had banished from the eastern provinces into Bulgaria and Thrace, was much more unhappy, on account of the perpetual conflicts they had to sustain with the Greeks, who persecuted and oppressed them with much keenness and animosity. The Greeks, as usually happens upon like occasions, laid the blame of their violent measures upon the Manichæans, whom they represented as a turbulent, perfidious, and sanguinary faction, and as the declared and inveterate enemies of the Grecian empire [*m*]. This, however, is by no means to be received as an impartial state of the case; at least, it appears from many circumstances, that if the Manichæans were exasperated against the Greeks, their resentment was owing to the violent and injurious treatment they had received from them. The Grecian pontiffs and clergy were far from being destitute of the odious spirit of persecution; and it is certain that the emperors, instigated and set on by them, had exhausted the patience of the Paulicians by repeated cruelties and vexations, and alienated their affections by inflicting upon

Manichæans.

[*m*] Anna Comnena Alexiados, lib. v. p. 105. lib. vi. p. 124. 126. 145.

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them, without interruption, a variety of punishments, such as banishment, confiscation of goods, and other such marks of severity and violence.

Alexius Comnenus, who, by his learning, was an ornament to the imperial sceptre, perceiving that the Manichæans were not to be vanquished without the greatest difficulty, by the force of arms, and observing also that their numbers increased from day to day both in Thrace and in the adjacent provinces, had recourse to the power of reason and argument to conquer their obstinacy, and spent whole days at Philippopolis, in disputing with the principal doctors of that pernicious sect. Many of them yielded to the victorious arguments of this royal disputant, and his learned associates; nor is this to be so much wondered at, since their demonstrations were accompanied and enforced by rewards and punishments. Such of the Manichæans as retracted their errors, and returned to the bosom of the Greek church, were loaded with gifts, honours, and privileges, according to their respective stations; while such as stood firm against the reasoning of the emperor, were inhumanly condemned to perpetual imprisonment [n].

An account of the Paulicians in Europe.

II. Many of the Paulicians, either from a principle of zeal for the propagation of their opinions, or from a desire of getting rid of the persecution and oppression they suffered under the Grecian yoke, retired from Bulgaria and Thrace, and formed settlements in other countries. Their first migration was into Italy; from whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into almost all the other provinces of Europe, and formed gradually a considerable number of religious assem-

[n] There is an ample and circumstantial account of this controversy between the emperor and the Manichæans in the work mentioned in the preceding note, lib. xiv. p. 357.

bilies, who adhered to their doctrine, and who were afterwards persecuted with the utmost vehemence by the Roman pontiffs [o]. It is difficult to fix the precise period of time when the Paulicians began to take refuge in Europe; it is, however, undoubtedly certain, from the most authentic testimonies, that a considerable number of that sect were, about the middle of this century, settled in Lombardy, Insubria, and principally at Milan; and that many of them led a wandering life in France, Germany, and other countries, where they captivated the esteem and admiration of the multitude, by their sanctimonious looks and the

[o] See Lud. Ant. Muratori, Antiquitat. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 83.—Limborch, Historia Inquisitionis, p. 31.—Thom. Aug. Richinii Dissertatio de Catharis, which is prefixed to the Summa B. Monetæ contra Catharos, p. 17, 18. We might also refer, upon this occasion, to Glab. Rodulph. Histor. lib. iii. cap. viii. to Matth. Paris, and other ancient writers. Certain Italian authors, and among others Richini, seem unwilling to acknowledge that the Paulicians arrived first in Italy, and proceeded from thence into other provinces of Europe; and maintain, on the contrary, that their first settlement was in France, and that from thence they came into Italy. These writers look upon it as ignominious to their country, to be considered as the first European nation which fostered such a pernicious and impious sect in its bosom. Be that as it may, their hypothesis is favoured by Petr. de Marca himself, a Frenchman, who, in his Histoire de Beam, livr. viii. cap. xiv. p. 728. declares it as his opinion, that the Paulicians joined themselves to the Gallic armies that returned from the holy war in Palestine, by the province of Bulgaria, and were thus conducted into France. But that learned author alleges no proof to support this opinion: it appears, on the contrary, from the records of the Inquisition of Thoulouse, published by Limborch, and from other authentic pieces, that the Paulicians settled first in Sicily, Lombardy, Liguria, and the Milanese, and sent from thence their doctors and missionaries into France. See the Codex Tolosanus, p. 13, 11. 32. 68. 69, et passim. We learn also from the Code of Thoulouse, that the French Paulicians, who were called Albigenses, had no bishop to consecrate their Anciani (such was the title they gave to their presbyters), so that such of them as were desirous of being placed in the order of presbyters, were obliged to repair to Italy, in order to their being regularly installed.

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uncommon air of piety, which they put on with much affectation. In Italy they were called Paterini and Cathari, or rather Gazari, which latter appellation the Germans have preserved, with a small alteration only, which was proper to adapt it to the genius of their language [*p*]. In France they were called Albigenses, from the town of Alby, in the Upper Languedoc, in Latin Albigia [*q*]. They were likewise called Bulgarians in France, because they came from Bulgaria, and because the head of their sect resided in that country; as also Publicans, which was probably a corrupt pronunciation of Paulicians, and *boni homines*, or good men, with several other titles and epithets [*r*].

[*p*] The title of Paterini, which was given to this sect in Italy, has been already explained in the second chapter of the second part of this century, sect. 13, note [*r*]. As to the term Catharus, it was undoubtedly, when applied to the Paulicians, the same with Gazarus, as I have elsewhere demonstrated. See Hist. Ord. Apostol. p. 367. The country which bore, in this century, the name of Gazaria, was what we now call the Lesser Tartary.

[*q*] That the Paulicians were called Albigenses in France, and were a sect entirely distinct from the Waldenses and other heretics, appears evidently from the Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ, already mentioned. They received this name from a town in Aquitain, called Albigia, or Alby, where their errors were condemned in a council held in the year 1176. See Chatel, Memoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc, p. 305. It is, therefore, a mistake to consider the Albigenses as a sect so called from Alby's being the place of their birth, their residence, or the seat of their principal assembly; since that name was given them for no other reason than their having been condemned in a council held in that town. * There were, indeed, several Paulicians among the various sects of dissenters from the church of Rome, that inhabited the country about Alby; and it is also true, that the title of Albigenses is usually extended to all the heretics, of whatever sect or denomination they were, who dwelt in these parts.

[*r*] The learned Du Fresne, in his Glossarium Latin. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 1338, has proved, in an ample manner, that the Paulicians were called in France, Bulgares, and, by a cor-

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III. The first religious assembly which the Paulicians had formed in Europe, is said to have been discovered at Orleans, in the year 1017, under the reign of Robert. A certain Italian lady is said to have been at the head of this sect; its principal members were twelve canons of the cathedral of Orleans, men eminently distinguished by their piety and learning, among whom Lisosius and Stephen held the first rank; and it was composed, in general, of a considerable number of citizens, who were far from being of the meanest condition. The impious doctrines, professed by these canons, were discovered by a certain priest named Heribert, and by Arifastus, a Norman nobleman, upon which Robert assembled a council at Orleans, and employed the most effectual methods that could be thought of to bring these heretics to a better mind. But all his endeavours were to no purpose; this pernicious sect adhered obstinately to their principles, and hence they were at length condemned to be burnt alive [*s*].

The Manichæans of Orleans seem to have been Mystics.

It is difficult to come to a fixed determination with respect to the character and doctrine of these

rupt pronunciation of that word, Bougres. The same author in his Observationes ad Villeharduini Historiam Constantinopolit. p. 169. has fully demonstrated, that the names Popolicana and Publicani, that were imposed upon these Manichæans, were no more than a corruption of the term Pauliciani, ill pronounced. The appellation of Boni Homines, or Los bos Homes, as the southern French spoke at that time, was a title which the Paulicians attributed to themselves. See the Codex Inquisit. Tolosanæ, p. 22. 84. 95, &c. and more especially p. 131.

[*s*] The accounts that the ancient writers have given of these heretics are collected by Boulay, in his Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 364.—Chari. Plessis D'Argentre, Collectio. Judicior. de novis Erroribus, tom. i. p. 5.—Jo. Launoy, De Scholis celebrioribus Caroli Magni, cap. xxiv. p. 90.—The history of the synod of Orleans, in which this sect was condemned, is given by Luc. Dacherius, in his Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor. tom. i. p. 604.

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people; for when we examine matters attentively, we find that even their enemies acknowledged the sincerity of their piety; but they were blackened by accusations which were evidently false; and that the opinions for which they were punished differ widely from the Manichæan system [*t*]. As far as we can see into the case, it appears to us, that these pretended Manichæans of Orleans were a set of Mystics, who looked with contempt upon all external worship, rejected all rites and ceremonies, and even the Christian sacraments, as destitute of any, even the least spiritual efficacy or virtue, placed the whole of religion in the internal contemplation of God, and the elevation of the soul to divine and celestial things; and in their philosophical speculations concerning God, the Trinity, and the human soul, soared above the comprehension of the age in which they lived. A like set of men proceeded in vast numbers out of Italy in the following ages, spread like an inundation through all the European provinces, and were known in Germany under the name of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, while they were distinguished in other countries by the appellation of Beghards [*u*].

[*t*] Basnage, in his Histoire des Eglises Reformées, tom. i. period. iv. p. 97. and in his Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. ii. p. 1388. pleads the cause of the canons of Orleans; but this learned and worthy man seems to have been carried too far by his zeal for augmenting the number of those who have been martyrs to the truth.

[*u*] We shall have occasion to give a fuller account of these fanatics in the history of the thirteenth century, in which they were first drawn from their obscurity, and condemned in many councils, especially in Germany. It is, however, certain, that they had a clandestine existence long before that period, and that they propagated their tenets secretly in several places. Their doctrine resembles, in some particulars, that of the Manichæans; and hence it was natural for the ignorant divines of the age in which they lived, to consider them as a branch of that pernicious sect.

Another branch of that sect converted by Gerhard.

IV. We find in history another branch of this numerous sect, whose errors were not accompanied with the crimes that were laid to the charge of their brethren, and who were converted by a pathetic discourse that was addressed to them by Gerhard, bishop of Cambray and Arras, in an assembly of the clergy that was held in the last of these two cities, A. D. 1030. These honest Mystics, who were equally remarkable for their docility and their ignorance, had received the doctrine they professed from the Italians, and particularly from a certain chimerical doctor, whose name was Gundulf. They maintained, in general, according to their own confession, that the whole of religion consisted in the study of practical piety, and in a course of action conformable to the divine laws, and treated all external modes of worship with the utmost contempt. Their particular tenets may be reduced to the following heads: 1. They rejected baptism, and in a more especial manner the baptism of infants, as a ceremony that was in no respect essential to salvation. 2. They rejected, for the same reason, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. 3. They denied that the churches were endowed with a greater degree of sanctity than private houses, or that they were more adapted to the worship of God than any other place. 4. They affirmed that the altars were to be considered in no other light than as heaps of stones, and were therefore unworthy of any marks of veneration or regard. 5. They disapproved of the use of incense and consecrated oil in services of a religious nature. 6. They looked upon the use of bells in the churches as an intolerable superstition. 7. They denied that the establishment of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other ecclesiastical dignities, was of divine institution, and went so far

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as to maintain that the appointment of stated ministers in the church was entirely needless. 8. They affirmed, that the institution of funeral rites was an effect of sacerdotal avarice, and that it was a matter of indifference whether the dead were buried in the churches, or in the fields. 9. They looked upon those voluntary punishments, called penance, which were so generally practised in this century, as unprofitable and absurd. 10. They denied that the sins of departed spirits could be, in any measure, atoned for by the celebration of masses, the distribution of alms to the poor, or a vicarious penance [*w*]; and they treated, of consequence, the doctrine of purgatory as a ridiculous fable. 11. They considered marriage as a pernicious institution, and absurdly condemned, without distinction, all connubial bonds [*x*]. 12. They looked upon a certain sort of veneration and worship as due to the apostles and martyrs, from which, however, they excluded such as were only confessors, in which class they comprehended the saints, who had not suffered death for the cause of Christ, and whose bodies, in their esteem, had nothing more sacred than any other human carcass. 13. They declared the use of instrumental music in the churches, and other religious assemblies, superstitious and unlawful. 14. They denied, that the cross on which Christ suffered was in any respect more sacred than other kinds of wood, and, of conse-

☞ [*w*] By a vicarious penance is understood the course of mortification and voluntary suffering, that one person undergoes in order to procure absolution for another.

[*x*] This eleventh article is scarcely credible, at least as it is here expressed. It is more reasonable to suppose, that these Mystics did not absolutely condemn marriage, but only held celibacy in higher esteem, as a mark of superior sanctity and virtue.

quence, refused to pay to it the smallest degree of religious worship. 15. They not only refused all acts of adoration to the images of Christ, and of the saints, but were also for having them removed out of the churches. 16. They were shocked at the subordination and distinctions that were established among the clergy, and at the different degrees of authority that were conferred upon the different members of that sacred body [*y*].

When we consider the corrupt state of religion in this century, and particularly the superstitious notions that were generally adopted in relation to outward ceremonies, the efficacy of penance, and the sanctity of churches, relics, and images, it will not appear surprising that many persons of good sense and solid piety, running from one extreme to another, fell into the opinions of these Mystics, in which, among several absurdities, there were many things plausible and specious, and some highly rational.

The controversy set on foot by Roscellinus.

V. A controversy, of a much more subtile and difficult nature, arose in France, about the year 1089; and had for its principal author Roscellinus, a canon of Compeigne, a profound dialectician, and the most eminent doctor of the sect called Nominalists, which we have already had occasion to mention in the course of this history. This subtile doctor held it inconceivable and impossible that the Son of God should take on the human nature alone, *i. e.* without the Father and the Holy Ghost becoming incarnate also, unless by the three persons in the godhead were meant three distinct objects, or natures existing separately (such as three angels, or three distinct spirits),

[*y*] See an account of the synod of Arras in Dacherius, Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter. tom. i. p. 607—624. Car. Plessis D'Argentre, Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus, tom. i. p. 7.

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though endowed with one will, and acting by one power. When it was insinuated to Roscellinus, that this manner of reasoning led directly to Tritheism, or the doctrine of three gods, he answered boldly, that the existence of three gods might be asserted with truth [z], were not the expression

[z] Such is the account given by John, the accuser of this metaphysical ecclesiastic, in a letter to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, published by Baluzius, in his Miscellanea, tom. iv. p. 478. The same account is confirmed by Anselm himself, in the book De Fide Trinitatis which he wrote against Roscellinus, see Oper. tom. i. p. 41. 43. and lib. ii. Epistolar. ep. xxxv. p. 335. tom. ii. opp.—And also by Fulco, bishop of Beauvais, as may be seen in the second book of the Epistles of Anselm, ep. xli. lib. ii. tom. ii. opp. p. 357.—It must, however, be considered, that the learned men now mentioned were the inveterate enemies of Roscellinus, and that they perhaps comprehended his meaning imperfectly, or perverted it willingly. Several circumstances prove, that some of his adversaries were in one or the other of these two cases. Anselm himself furnishes sufficient grounds for this suspicion, since, notwithstanding his aversion to the Nominalists, of whom Roscellinus was the chief, he grants, in his book De Fide Trinitatis, cap. iii. p. 44. that the opinion of his antagonist may be admitted, or at least tolerated, in a certain sense; and even frequently intimates, that he is not perfectly assured of his understanding fully the meaning of Roscellinus, and that he believes the sentiments of that ecclesiastic less pernicious than his accusers have represented them. "Sed forsitan," says Anselm, "ipse (Roscellinus) non dicit, sicut sunt tres animæ aut tres Angeli: sed ille, qui mihi ejus mandavit quæstionem, hanc ex suo posuit similitudinem: sed solummodo tres personas affirmat esse tres RES, sine additamento alicujus similitudinis." The same Anselm (Epistolar. lib. ii. ep. xli. p. 357). declares, that the account which he had received of the opinions of Roscellinus appears to him extremely dubious, "Quod tamen," says he, "absque dubietate credere non possum." From all this it is evident, that Anselm was far from having an entire confidence in the equity and impartiality of the accusers of Roscellinus, or from looking upon that ecclesiastic as so black, as his enemies had endeavoured to make him.

As to the merits of the cause, it appears manifest to me, that this subtile dispute was a consequence of the warm controversy that subsisted in this century, between the Realists and the

harsh and contrary to the phraseology generally received. He was, however, obliged to retract this error in a council assembled at Soissons, in the year 1092; but he resumed it when the council was dismissed, and the danger over. Persecuted anew on account of this doctrine, he took refuge in England, and excited there divisions and contests of another kind, by maintaining, among other things, that persons born out of lawful wedlock ought to be deemed incapable of admission to holy orders. This doctrine, which was by no means suited to the times, procured Roscellinus many enemies, and was in a great measure the occasion of his involuntary removal from England. Banished thence, he returned to France, and taking up his residence at Paris, he fomented again the old dispute concerning the Trinity. This, however, succeeded not according to his hopes, but exposed him to much trouble and vexation from the redoubled attacks of his adversaries, who pressed hard on him from all quarters. Fatigued with their persecutions, he retired at last to Aquitain, where he acquired universal esteem

Nominalists. The former attacked the latter by the dangerous conclusions that seemed deducible from their principles, and reasoned thus: "If, as your doctrine supposes, universal substances are no more than mere sounds or denominations, and the whole science of logic is only conversant about words, it must of necessity follow, that the three persons in the Godhead are only three names, and not three realities or things. We deny the conclusion, replied Roscellinus; the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are not placed by us in the rank of denominations, but in the class of realities, or things." The subtile doctor here, as all must more or less do after him, by avoiding Scylla fell into Charybdis, and was charged by his adversaries, with the introduction of tritheism, by holding an opinion, that supposed the existence of three divine substances. Were any of the writings of Roscellinus now extant, they would help us, no doubt, to form a juster notion of this controversy than we can have at present.

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by his eminent piety, and passed the rest of his days in tranquillity and repose [a].

[a] Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris, tom. i. p. 485. 489.—Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. v. p. 262.—Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. ix. p. 358.—Anton. Pagi Critica in Baronium ad a. 1094. tom. iv. p. 317.—Jaques Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. viii. p. 59.

END OF VOL. II.